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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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ARMS CONTROL

ROLE OF DOCTORS' ANTINUCLEAR MOVEMENT VIEWED

PM271557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 85 First Edition p 4

[Article by Academician Ye. Chazov, chairman of the Soviet "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" committee: "Doctors Say 'No' to the Nuclear Threat"]

[Text] The antiwar movement on our planet unites millions of people of the most varied political views and different professions. The doctors' international antiwar movement has been an important factor stimulating the growth of mass demonstrations against the nuclear threat. This movement was born at the end of 1980 and named "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War." It now numbers 135,000 people. It is supported by broad sectors of the population and politicians and religious figures in various countries.

Doctors have always borne a special responsibility for maintaining people's life and health. Following the Hippocratic Oath--one of the noblest of human documents--doctors guard people's health and preserve their lives. We recall the words of the ancient healer: "Whatever house I enter, I enter to serve the sick."

But we can follow the Hippocratic Oath only while we ourselves are alive, while our hands are working, our hospitals functioning, and while there are medicines and instruments. But under conditions of nuclear war doctors cannot carry out their mission. Nuclear war not only sows death, disease, and injury, it destroys the possibility of aiding the millions of injured and the radiation and burn victims.

Doctors' profound understanding of the nature and scale of the medical and biological consequences of the use of nuclear weapons is of determining importance in shaping the civilian antiwar stance of most representatives of this category of professional workers. That is why doctors are telling people the hard truth about how the nuclear arms race threatens mankind.

Forty years ago the world was shown the consequences of the use of the then new nuclear weapons. The civilian population of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sacrificed to the monstrous

experiment. To this day citizens who suffered radiation contamination are dying from leucosis and malignant tumors. As the saying goes, nuclear death has a long memory.

Around 15,000 megatons of nuclear explosive, which is the equivalent of a million Hiroshima bombs, have now been amassed in the world. It is the equivalent of approximately 6,000 "second World Wars" in terms of the amount of explosives. According to calculations produced by doctors, if a nuclear war were to break out it would claim more than 2 billion victims. The direct impact factors of nuclear explosions will be aggravated by longer-term consequences, including the so-called "nuclear winter" (a sharp drop in temperature as a result of the atmosphere's pollution with smoke and dust).

The doctors' research and conclusions with regard to nuclear war have had a strong sobering influence on extremely broad circles of Western Society which had underestimated the dangers of a nuclear cataclysm. Whereas previously antinuclear sentiments were mainly shared by the progressive and liberal strata, now many others have begun to realize that a nuclear war threatens all equally. Neither oceans, distance from military and industrial centers, nor neutral status will provide defense from it. It is characteristic that many American physicians with conservative views have joined the front ranks of those campaigning against the nuclear threat.

Thus one of the most important achievements of the doctors' movement is to have breached the psychological wall preventing many ordinary people in the West from understanding the real nature of a potential nuclear war. Until the recent past they were insufficiently aware of the real danger of its catastrophic consequences. In the course of everyday life the horrors of Hiroshima are forgotten. The results of the dropping of the U.S. atom bombs in 1945 have turned for many into a kind of abstraction bereft of any specific content. And it is psychologically difficult to conceive of concepts such as a "million Hiroshimas" or the "deaths of hundreds of millions of people." And, of course, there are fewer and fewer people who took part in the bloody battles of World War II. That is the psychological mechanism for underestimating the danger of the outbreak and the scale of the consequences of a new, nuclear, war.

This "complacency" has also been promoted by the purposeful attempts by many Western statesmen and politicians through militarist propaganda to persuade the populations of their countries of the "permissibility" of unleashing and the possibility of waging a "limited" nuclear war. That is the official military doctrine of the United States and NATO.

It was necessary to destroy this complacency, to rouse people, to motivate them to vigorous action, and to convince them that it is not a question of "another" war, of which there have been many throughout history, but of maintaining human civilization.

An important landmark in the development of the medical workers' movement was the fifth congress of the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement, held in Budapest last summer. For the first time delegates from more than 50 countries were welcomed by the capital of a socialist country. Greeting the delegates, J. Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, stressed the important role of the doctors' movement in strengthening the peoples' will for peace and in mobilizing international public opinion.

The doctors who gathered in Budapest were warmly welcomed by a greetings message from M. S. Gorbachev, which noted that the movement's noble activity is understood and supported in the Soviet Union.

Among the thousands of delegates there was not one who would not take to heart the doctors' noble goal of eliminating the possibility of a nuclear war searing our planet. The delegates included the authors of the prestigious WHO report "The Consequences of Nuclear War for People's Health and the Medical Services," and doctors who had specially studied various aspects of the impact factors of nuclear explosions and the economic, social, and psychological consequences of the arms race and a war using mass destruction weaponry.

The senselessness and cruelty of the arms race were graphically demonstrated by the American doctor (V. Zaydel). He placed an ordinary metronome on the rostrum. At every stroke, he said, one child in the world is falling sick and another is dying. In the same second \$25,000 are being spent on arms. The sums spent in the world on these purposes would be enough to provide all developing countries with the necessary food products and medical aid.

Today, it was stated at the congress, \$2.2 billion are being spent on arms worldwide every day. At the same time the entire WHO budget for the struggle against malaria in 1984 and 1985 was only around \$29 million, and only \$45 million for resolving the problems of water supply and sanitation. And this whole 2 billion inhabitants of our planet are drinking polluted water, which is the cause of 80 percent of all diseases in the developing countries. The WHO's expenditure on resolving the problems of cardiovascular pathology--the main cause of death in the developed countries--amounted in all to around \$4 million in 1984-1985. And can we tolerate a situation whereby 1 in 350 of the world's inhabitants is a soldier while only 1 in 3,700 is a doctor?

These and other figures cited at the congress speak for themselves. One cannot imagine a more serious disease than an arms race, especially in nuclear arms. The congress delegates said that nuclear war is an epidemic which cannot be cured. Only one method is effective--and preventive method.

The congress pointed with alarm to the U.S. attempts to spread the arms race to space. It was noted that the implementation of the Washington plans for the militarization of space would undermine international stability, sharply increase the threat of a global annihilatory nuclear conflict, open up a new controllable stage of the arms race, and, of course, undermine the disarmament talks. Space, which has long beguiled man with its potential for expanding our knowledge about the universe and for ensuring peaceful cooperation in its exploration, must not be turned into a source of death and destruction and an arena for "star wars."

The congress adopted an appeal to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan pointed out that turning space into an arms race arena would sharply increase the threat of global nuclear conflict. The program for eliminating the nuclear threat set out in the appeal includes, in particular, measures such as an adequately verifiable freeze on the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery means, along with subsequent balanced reductions in them and, ultimately, their elimination and the adoption, following the USSR's example, of a nuclear weapons no-first-use commitment.

The Budapest congress was held under the slogan "Cooperation, Not Confrontation." Cooperation promotes the flourishing of life on earth and the growth of the peoples' prosperity; confrontation can only lead to death.

In the congress documents the doctors advocated as an initial measure that the nuclear powers declare moratoriums on all nuclear explosions prior to the conclusion of a treaty on the total and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. The implementation of this recommendation of the doctors' could be the first step to the final ending of all tests, which are the catalyst of the nuclear arms race.

The Soviet Union's introduction 6 August this year of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions generated a universal positive response. On behalf of all participants in the international doctors' movement its leaders approved and supported the new Soviet initiative. Their example has been followed by many national organizations. The Soviet moratorium has been greeted with approval by medical circles in the United States--the country on which the continuation of the moratorium into next year depends.

In his letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES, Con Nugent, executive secretary of the international physicians' movement, wrote in reply to conjecture about the Soviet step that the USSR initiative "holds out a real opportunity for reversing the arms race and favor the United States to grasp that opportunity in the interest of security." He expressed confidence that prohibiting tests would hinder the creation of new

generations of nuclear explosive devices, including those intended for space-based systems. The American cardiologist B. Lown, co-chairman of our movement, terming the moratorium on nuclear explosions a "medical recipe for peace," in a telegram to President Reagan called on him to "take advantage of a moment which might help to maintain real and lasting security for all Americans and the entire world." On the initiative of the U.S. "Physicians for Social Responsibility" organization this year the question of the complete ending of nuclear weapons tests has become a subject for widespread discussion and active antiwar campaigning by medical workers in the United States and a number of other Western countries.

Ending the arms race on earth, preventing one in space, and creating a climate of trust and cooperation are today not just questions for political debates or diplomatic talks. They are a demand of the times, a demand from the peoples of the entire world. This is attested by the more than 1.25 million doctors from various countries who over the last 2 years have signed the appeal to end the nuclear arms race.

The International Medical Workers' Day for the Struggle Against Nuclear War falls on 1 October. On this day doctors will hold antiwar rallies and demonstrations worldwide and collect signatures among their colleagues for the antinuclear appeal. Soviet doctors, who are making their own contribution to the struggle of peace-loving forces to eliminate the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, will continue to be in the front ranks.

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EAST-WEST RELATIONS

CONTINUING RELEVANCE OF CSCE STRESSED; U.S. ATTITUDE HIT

AU281430 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 7, Jul 85 (signed to press 19 June 85) pp 3-12

[Article by Professor N. Lebedev, rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, author of a number of works on international relations and USSR foreign policy, including "The Great October Revolution and the Reorganization of International Relations" and "The USSR in World Politics 1917-1982:" "USSR in the Struggle to Ensure Security in Europe"--passages between slantlines published in bold type]

[Text] The first half of the eighties has been marked by an acute and frequently dramatic confrontation between the two lines in world politics. The ruling circles of the United States have come out as the pioneers of the arms race and have sabotaged the achievement of agreements in the sphere of disarmament, and on their initiative ever newer types of weapons of mass destruction are being created. They have embarked on a course of militarizing outer space. This course is leading to a dangerous destabilization of international relations and to the growth of the danger of war. It is opposed by the CPSU's consistent and principled line, the pivotal area of which is the struggle to reduce the threat of war and to curb the arms race.

For the last 5 years the CPSU and the Soviet Government have worked untiringly on solving this task, a task which, as the 26th party Congress stressed, has acquired particular importance and urgency. The concrete program of action to improve the international situation, which was outlined by the congress, was developed into a well-proportioned and logical system of peace initiatives which were advanced both at the 26th Congress itself and at subsequent Central Committee plenums and in speeches by Soviet leaders.

One of the central areas of the CPSU's activity in implementing the Peace Program for the Eighties has been and continues to be the consistent struggle to strengthen security and cooperation in Europe, the continent where the two largest military-political grouping confront one another and where in the seventies it was possible to achieve the greatest successes in the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and in the policy of relaxation of international tension.

It will soon be 10 years since the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act of the CSCE. This event, which was unique in its historic scale, became the culminating point in the process of relaxation of tension, and firmly entered the history of international relations as a symbol of the triumph of the ideas of peaceful coexistence.

Today there is particular sense in recalling the Helsinki forum held in 1975. As some bourgeois authors assert, this was a period of "illusions" connected with detente, which some in the West would now like to bury, wiping all traces of it from the memory of peoples. "I do not think that we needed detente," the U.S. President in particular categorically states. But however hard reactionary Western propaganda tries, it will not be possible to bury the detente of the seventies, for it was far from being a chance episode. Prepared by the entire course of postwar history, it reflected the objective laws of development of international relations.

Detente took deep roots in the minds of millions of people in Europe, who felt for themselves its practical benefit, and, first and foremost, its main result, which was the stabilization of the situation on our continent and the reduction of the threat of war. That is why the interest shown by the international progressive public toward the Final Act, the charter of security and cooperation in Europe, does not lessen.

A correct understanding of the significance of the all-European conference and of the prospects of the detente process is possible only in the context of the confrontation between the two lines in world politics which was strongly in evidence at the end of the seventies and the start of the eighties. The Helsinki conference and its Final Act are for us primarily the result of the consistent and purposeful international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, a policy which was aimed at improving the situation on the European continent, at affirming the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and at developing equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between them.

The CPSU and the international communist movement as a whole had set themselves the goal of achieving a convocation of the CSCE and of bringing it to a constructive result long before the start of the Helsinki forum. The fundamental ideas by which communists had always been guided are in practice embodied in this course with respect to the concrete arrangement of class forces which had formed in the world arena at the end of the sixties. In this connection, the achievement by the countries of the socialist community of approximate military parity with the imperialist camp was of principled importance, rendering hopeless the calculations of ruling circles in the West on implementing plans to restore the might of capitalism by means of military force.

The establishment and maintaining of approximate military parity, primarily strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, represented the objective foundations on which the detente of the seventies could be and was constructed, confirming every day the vain and suicidal nature of attempts by imperialism to resolve the historical argument between

capitalism and socialism in its favor by strength of arms. This conclusion has not lost its topicality today, either, when the aggressive circles of the United States and a number of its NATO allies are striving to achieve military superiority over socialism, restore their domination of the world arena, and destroy the foundations for fruitful dialogue in Europe.

On the basis of a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of international development, the ruling communist and workers parties of the countries of the socialist community, and primarily the CPSU, came to the conclusion that since the end of the sixties favorable conditions had been created for the successful advancement of a number of large-scale foreign policy initiatives. The idea of the convocation of the CSCE occupied one of the central positions among them.

The signing of the Final Act of the all-European conference was for the USSR and its allies a law-governed finale to the preceding 30 years of efforts for a peaceful postwar settlement in Europe. Our country moved consistently along this road, which was marked with such milestones as the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences in 1945, the Paris Peace Conference which concluded with the signing of peace treaties with the former allies of Hitler's Germany, the State Treaty of 1955 on the restoration of an independent and democratic Austria, the Soviet-West German treaty of 1970, the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin of 1971, and other international documents. The importance of the Final Act was for us determined primarily by the fact that it drew a final line under the results of World War II, guaranteed the immovability of the borders which had formed in Europe, and contributed to the ensuring of firm stability and mutually advantageous cooperation on the continent.

The motives for the participation in the conference of the West European states and particularly the United States were quite different, the signing of the Final Act signifying for them a certain departure from the traditions and practice of the "cold war" and a search for new roads in the changed international situation. This departure was undoubtedly conditions in part by the failures of the imperialist policy of confrontation and "balancing on the brink of war." The American establishment's frame of mind was also influenced by the shameful collapse of the United States' Indochinese adventure.

A blow was thus inflicted to the hopes traditionally set by the United States on military might, which could not but make the most sober-minded American politicians start thinking about this. This is why the turn of the ruling circles of Western states from confrontation to detente undoubtedly reflected their desire to gain a temporary breathing-space, to regroup their forces, to find new channels of influencing the socialist states, and, in short, to adapt the process of detente to the interests and needs of imperialism and to give it the political and ideological interpretation which is to its advantage.

Detente was interpreted by the ruling elite of the West not as a retreat but as a tactic for achieving their goals which was fraught with less risk than was military confrontation. Departing from a course of military conflict with the USSR, conflict which was undesirable in the conditions of the new correlation of forces in the world, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers were nevertheless counting on achieving in the detente process the solution of their tasks in the struggle against the socialist states in the international arena. In particular, the concept of so-called "true" detente advanced by them was supposed to serve these ends.

The authors of this concept supposed that the third section of the Final Act--the humanitarian sphere of cooperation (cultural exchange, contact between people)--offered wide scope for the implementation of subvertive designs against the world of socialism. It was their conviction that the so-called "third basket" created favorable opportunities for attempts to "de-ideologize Soviet society." To precisely this end the Western countries dragged out at the CSCE their old imperialist idea of a "free flow of information." Their vain attempts to use this forum to uncover channels of ideological penetration into the socialist countries, including slanderous radio propaganda, represented the most flagrant violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Together with this, Western politicians counted on making use of the Soviet Union's interest in acquiring advanced technology and necessary goods in the West. They hoped to turn trade and foreign economic relations with the USSR into an important lever for influencing its policy. Reasoning of this kind reflected both a recognition of the invalidity of the concepts of force from the time of the "cold war" as well as an inspiration to resurrect them in a renewed form. However groundless these and other designs of the supporters of "true" detente were, they lay at the basis of a number of concrete foreign policy actions by imperialism aimed at the USSR and the other socialist countries in the first half of the seventies, actions which placed tangible obstacles in the path of the normal development of international relations. They also had a negative effect on the course of the all-European conference.

All in all, imperialist circles were counting on "inserting" the USSR into a configuration of the system of international relations which would be advantageous to them, and also to reach agreement with the Soviet Union about a sort of "division of the world into spheres of influence," on condition that it give the capitalist countries guarantees of the preservation of the existing sociopolitical stability and that it freeze the world revolutionary process. The Western powers intended to drive a wedge between the socialist community and its natural allies in this manner, and thus weaken its international position.

It is obvious from the above that the relaxation of international tension did not and indeed cannot abolish the acute confrontation between socialism and capitalism which determines the basic content of our epoch. As V.V. Lenin stressed more than once, peaceful coexistence does not

eliminate confrontations between systems, but is a continuation of the struggle of capitalism against socialism, and while this struggle has changed its form, it still remains a struggle.

For this reason it is natural that the agreements of the detente period were also of a compromise nature, and that their main sense lay in the necessity of excluding war as a means of resolving the historical argument between socialism and capitalism. The Final Act of the CSCE is also a compromise, which was reached by 35 countries belonging to two opposite socioeconomic systems. But this was not the compromise for which the initiators and champions of the antisocialist policy of imperialism hungered. The Helsinki Final Act reflected the recognition by the capitalist states of the necessity of building relations in the contemporary world on the only possible basis, that of peaceful coexistence. Reached in the interests of universal peace, the act at the same time does not obliterate differences in ideology and social systems.

The significance of the resulting document from the all-European conference cannot be correctly understood without a profound analysis of the acute ideological confrontation connected with it. There was also a struggle on the question of what clauses should be incorporated in the Final Act and about how they should be interpreted. It was important not only to obtain the imperialist states' recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence and their agreement to the policy of detente, but also to fill these concepts with concrete and progressive content. It was necessary to unmask attempts to interpret them in the spirit of consolidation of the sociopolitical status quo or of extending peaceful coexistence to the ideological sphere. All this required persistent and painstaking work which the countries of the socialist community were able to carry out at the proper level.

Having lost the ideological battle around the adoption of the Helsinki decisions, Western propaganda went on to try in every possible way to distort their content. Its efforts basically led to the following: "The renunciation of an integrated and comprehensive evaluation of the all-European conference decisions, the disintegration of the Final Act, the falsification of each of its three component parts, and the setting of these parts against one another. Our ideological adversaries advanced from direct attacks on the Final Act to hypocritical "defense" of it against the USSR and the other socialist states.

Take, for example, one of the key clauses of the Final Act, the clause on the inviolability of the state borders which formed in postwar Europe. As is known, West German revanchists openly attack this clause even now, taking advantage of the semi-covert support of the Government of the FRG in recent years. Beyond West Germany's borders it would seem that no one is sympathetic to their claims and that no one wants to see Germany with its 1937 borders or to tear away Soviet, Polish, or Czechoslovak lands in its favor. For this reason a much more refined and disguised Pharisaical game is being played around the problem of borders. Imperialist propaganda,

primarily American, is trying in time to destroy the indivisible process of peaceful postwar settlement in Europe, and to set the Final Act against the decisions of the Yalta Conference of 1945.

Recognizing in words the immovability of the /state/ borders which have formed in Europe, imperialist propaganda talks about the possibility of changing /sociopolitical/ borders. In its interpretation, these borders between the two social systems or, as it prefers to declare, between the "free" and "unfree" world, were established in Yalta and annulled in Helsinki. The Final Act supposedly orders that states' borders should be observed, but allows the borders between social systems to be shifted. Imperialist propaganda perceived the prospects for such a "shift" of social borders, in particular, in the activization of antisocialist forces in People's Poland.

Meanwhile this "interpretation," if one may call it that, grossly distorts the sense of both the Yalta and the Helsinki documents. First of all, the Yalta agreements never consolidated any kind of sociopolitical division of Europe. For this reason alone it is utterly wrong to assert that the Final Act "annuls or "supercedes" the decisions taken at Yalta. Second, only people in the grip of a "falsification fever" can find in the Helsinki Act grounds to engage in the "shifting" of social borders in Europe without the will of the peoples themselves, grounds which are, of course, entirely absent in the act.

The vain attempts by imperialist propaganda to represent the Final Act in the form of the result of some "bargain" are also senseless. In this connection, recognition of the inviolability of postwar borders in Europe was advanced as a "concession" made by the Western side. Why was such a "concession" necessary at all, when these borders had already been recognized by the West German Government shortly before the start of the All-European conference in a series of bilateral treaties with the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the GDR, and the CSSR?

Encroachments on the integrity of the Final Act and attempts to over-emphasize some of its aspects and sections to the detriment of others became the leitmotiv of Western propaganda at the end of the seventies and the start of the eighties. It was asserted, for example, that the compromise of the Helsinki conference lay in the West's recognition of the territorial realities of postwar Europe "in exchange" for the Soviet Union's agreement to the NATO countries' proposals in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation and human rights. Presenting the Western states as supporters of human rights and the "humane" aspects of detente, imperialist circles categorically state that the USSR, supposedly, is not fulfilling the Helsinki agreements in this sphere and thus, they say, the Western side has the moral right to refuse to fulfill the other clauses of the Final Act.

By thrusting into the foreground the problems of "human rights" and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, imperialist circles really wish to "legalize" their interference in the affairs of the socialist states and

to force on them their interpretation of democracy and freedom, which is aimed at liquidating socialist achievements and restoring capitalist systems. It goes without saying that the socialist countries decisively reject unasked for sermons of this kind. "Neither the UN Charter, nor the Final Act, nor any other recognized international document empowers or can empower anyone to act as some kind of judge in these matters," A.A. Gromyko emphasized in this connection.

Also totally unfounded are statements by Western propaganda regarding the Soviet Union's imaginary "nonobservance" of the clauses in the Final Act relating to the humanitarian sphere. As the practice of fulfilling the Final Act shows, in many of its clauses the Western countries lag considerably behind the USSR. Our country is in no way indebted to the Western participants in the all-European conference either in the exchange of literary productions or in the development of contacts through cinematography, theater, and so forth. According to UNESCO statistics, five times more literature in translation appears in our country than in Great Britain and twice as much as in Japan, the United States, and France.

The Soviet Union is in favor of further developing cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, as established in the Final Act. This cooperation must be implemented on the principled basis defined in Helsinki and must be expanded as trust between states is strengthened and the process of detente developed.

One can only be astounded by the shamelessness with which some representatives of the imperialist powers give themselves off as almost the sole champions of the international defense of human rights by referring to the Final Act. On 1 May 1985 the American President declared in a special proclamation and in his name "Helsinki Human Rights Day" and stated that the United States would "follow" the observance of these rights throughout the whole of Europe. How the master of the White House conceives of this was demonstrated by American diplomacy on the very same day, when the first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw and the U.S. consul in Krakow were detained in Nowa Huta (the Polish People's Republic) for attempting to stir up disorders there by carrying banners with anti-Polish slogans and spreading inciting leaflets.

Without a second's hesitation the ideological henchmen of imperialist reaction interpret the clauses of the Final Act indiscriminately, consigning to oblivion the most important point that the contacts discussed in its third section must be established with the strict observance of the principles of noninterference in internal affairs and respect for the sovereign rights of states.

The attempts by the United States and its NATO allies not to accept in their entirety international documents coordinated with the USSR and other socialist countries, including the Final Act of the all-European conference, and to extract individual clauses from the documents and give them an arbitrary interpretation advantageous to themselves also conditioned Western ideologists' and propagandists' interpretation of detente and its

culmination--the signing of the Final Act. In the second half of the seventies, when the West still cherished hopes of pushing the process of detente in a direction welcome to the capitalist world, it attempted to positively appraise the Helsinki decisions, although merit in this was ascribed to the Western countries. It was alleged that the West had supposedly "forced" detente on the USSR which, quote, had "capitulated" to the countries of the "free world," having lost faith in the triumph of world revolution.

But parallel to this trend there also existed another extremely reactionary trend to all appearances directly opposite to the first although dictated by the same class aims and interests. Its adherents anathematized the all-European conference and the process of detente as a whole. As the ruling circles in the imperialist camp became aware of the failure of their hopes of imparting such a nature to detente as would make it possible for them to slow down the progressive development of history and even set it in reverse, this trend began to predominate in the practice of Western foreign policy propaganda. The all-European conference was depicted as a "cunning" maneuver by the Russians aimed at lulling the vigilance of the West, breaking up the "free" world, perpetuating communist regimes in Eastern Europe, gaining access more quickly to advanced Western technology, and so forth.

There is no need to refute all these false conjectures. The social system formed by the people of the socialist states has never needed any sanctions from outside, and, of course, the countries of the socialist community did not set themselves this aim at the conference in Helsinki. However, demagogic "theses" of this kind have become widely used in the rhetoric of the Washington administration. Plans for an anti-Soviet "crusade" accompanied by coarse slander against the Soviet state as the "focus of evil" need precisely such an interpretation of detente. It is totally understandable that this could not help but affect realization of the agreement on further steps after the conference and continuation of the process begun in Helsinki.

The campaign inspired by international reaction around the imaginary "nonobservance" of the Helsinki agreements by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was aimed at discrediting the USSR in the eyes of the world community and seeking moral justification for Washington's departure from detente and its aspiration to military superiority: If the Soviet Union, quote, "fails to fulfill" the clauses of the Final Act, then the United States can also consider itself not bound by them. In actual fact the change in American policy, as in that of a number of NATO members, was explained by other reasons.

The positive changes in world politics, which were particularly clearly apparent by the middle of the seventies, attested to the fact that the ruling elite in the West had not succeeded in turning the course of development of international relations in a direction desirable to it. The USSR had not displayed the slightest inclination to comply with the imperialist interpretation of detente. The calculations of bourgeois politicians regarding the "transformation" of the Soviet Union and a diversionary anti-Soviet version of normalizing mutual relations between

states with different systems came to naught. All this caused serious concern to the theoreticians and practitioners of imperialist policy.

A course aimed at gaining military superiority and building up "positions of strength" from which the imperialists could keep the course of events in the international arena under their control began to prevail to an increasing extent in the approach to detente adopted by the leaders of the main Western countries. The idea of military predominance as the only means of restoring lost positions grew stronger primarily in the minds of the American leadership as the changes taking place in the world arena made hopes of establishing the Western version of detente more and more illusory.

Crisis phenomena in the world capitalist system also continued to intensify during the seventies. Economic disorders increased and stagnation and [word indistinct] could not be overcome. Social conflicts noticeably became aggravated, as did the interimperialist struggle for markets and raw material and energy sources. The aggressive circles of imperialism seek to resolve their difficulties by means of whipping up the threat of war and suppressing the people's struggle for freedom and independence. Adventurism and readiness to gamble with the vital interests of mankind for the sake of narrowly selfish aims are becoming increasingly apparent in the policies of the most aggressive imperialist circles.

At the end of the seventies—beginning of the eighties attacks on the policy of detente sharply increased, particularly in the United States. The U.S. Administration adopted a course aimed at destroying everything positive created during the years of detente in Europe and renouncing the principle of parity and equal security.

Under these conditions the rich experience of the all-European conference and its Final Act acquire particular significance as a clear and positive alternative to the aggressive policies of imperialism—an alternative tested in practice during the seventies. Today the [word indistinct] sociopolitical circles in the West, which do not wish to reconcile themselves by playing the role of nuclear hostages prepared for them by Washington, are in favor of a return to detente and to the ideas of Helsinki. The eighties have been marked by the rapid growth of mass antiwar movements opposing the dangerous militarist course pursued by the United States and NATO.

Frightened by this movement and striving to disorganize it and break it up, apologists of imperialism treat it as supposedly "inspired by Moscow" and brought into being by "Soviet foreign policy propaganda." But, of course, it was not "Soviet propaganda," but Washington's militarist preparations that engendered the mass antiwar movement in capitalist countries. Precisely the new round in the arms race provoked by the United States increased the alarm of the public for the fate of our planet and gave this movement unprecedented scale.

The permanent significance of the Helsinki documents and their vitality--despite the departure by aggressive circles in the West from the policy of detente--has been convincingly confirmed by the development of events on the European continent in recent years. Being the outcome of persistent, protracted efforts by the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries to clear the international arena of the obstructions of the "cold war" in its turn, the all-European conference was a powerful incentive to further develop the process of detente. It marked the beginning of all-European dialogue aimed at seeking the best ways of safeguarding peace and security on our continent.

The essence of the process begun in Helsinki as an important component of restructuring the entire system of contemporary international relations on the basis of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems lies in forming a stable structure of cooperation between these states in Europe for the good of peace. This structure would make it possible to resolve problems arising between them as painlessly as possible, to more efficiently organize equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, and to help to create a climate of mutual understanding and international trust favorable to realizing plans for military detente and disarmament.

This process corresponds to the objective course of social development in the world and in this sense the future indisputably belongs to it. However, at the same time, however greatly promising its prospects may seem, they cannot be realized automatically and without the sharpest class struggle in the international arena. The fundamental reorganization of international relations does not follow a straight line and does not include only a progressive movement forward. It also includes periods of stagnation, at times long periods at that, as well as periods of recoiling backwards. The process initiated in Helsinki is developing under the conditions of an ever growing opposition by the forces of militarism, reaction and war. For this reason it is marked both by positive achievements and great unutilized opportunities.

But the main thing nevertheless is that the process begun by the CSCE 10 years ago has not been interrupted and is continuing with all of its difficulties and contradictions. After the signing of the Final Act two all-European meetings were held, one in Belgrade and the other in Madrid. Their work took place in a situation that was essentially different from the situation in which the Helsinki conference had worked.

The second of these two meetings was held in Madrid from 1980 to 1983 under the ominous accompaniment of the U.S. efforts to change the correlation of forces in Europe and the world to its own advantage by deploying the American Pershing and cruise missiles in some West European countries. According to the plans of the transoceanic strategists, the appearance of the "Euromissiles" should strain to the limit the relations between NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact member-countries, consolidate the U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world, turn Western Europe into an

American "nuclear hostage," and turn back the development of international relations to the period of the right of the fist.

And nevertheless, the Madrid meeting concluded differently than Washington had wanted. The concluding document of the meeting envisages an expansion of the range of possibilities for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the conference's participant countries in the most widely varied spheres, and for their further efforts in the interests of consolidation of European and general peace. The positive outcome of the Madrid meeting which adopted the decision on convening in Stockholm the Conference on Confidence Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, was the achievement of that line in international affairs which is aimed at dialogue and mutual understanding and at settlements of problems through negotiations.

The experience gained in Madrid shows that, despite all differences in politics and disagreement in the assessments of the causes of the present state of international affairs and despite all tensions in the situation in Europe and the world, the states with different social systems can reach mutually acceptable accords, including in this connection also the accords that benefit all peoples and help clear the political horizons in Europe and the world. The reserves of the policy of detente are not exhausted by far.

There is no doubt that the many-sided process in Europe which began 10 years ago is now moving differently and much more slowly than in the period of apogee of detente. However, it has not stopped in its gradual development. The convocation of the Stockholm conference, too, signifies a qualitatively new frontier in this process because it opens up for the first time the prospects for the adoption of concrete measures for a military detente in Europe.

The Final Act preserves also today all of its significance as a political platform for steps aimed at improving the situation on the European continent and for holding constructive negotiations that may be either bilateral or multilateral. It creates the necessary basis for a successful development not only of the Stockholm conference but also of such international forums as the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe and especially the Soviet-American negotiations on the entire complex of space and nuclear weapons which began in Geneva in 1985.

The United States and some of its allies are sparing no efforts to hinder or completely wreck the elaboration of constructive solutions and they are speeding up new spirals of the arms race. The Washington Administration had prepared for the 10th anniversary of the Final Act such "presents" as the "Star Wars" program that grossly violates the earlier accords between the USSR and the United States, as well as the decision of the American Congress on financing the production of a new series of first-strike missiles, the MX missiles. The imperialist propaganda is once again reviving the attempts to accuse the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries of imaginary "violations" of the obligations adopted in Helsinki. The loud advertising of a handful of dissidents and bitter turncoats who represent no one and live from the crumbs doled out to them by Western special services that use them for gross interference in the internal affairs of the countries of socialism is being organized under the guise of "protection of human rights." This unscrupulous racket has been naturally met with a firm rebuff by the countries of the socialist community.

The signing on 26 April 1985 of a protocol to extend the term of effect of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance concluded in Warsaw on 14 May 1955 is an important factor in strengthening peace and stability in Europe. The communique on the meeting between top-level party and state figures from the Warsaw Pact member-countries once again stressed that the socialist countries "work to develop comprehensive, equal, and mutually advantageous international cooperation. They have never advocated dividing Europe and the world into military blocs in opposition to one another. They are also now in favor of simultaneously dissolving their own alliance and the North Atlantic bloc and, as the first step--their military organizations."

These proposals fully correspond to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act and are aimed at fulfilling the tasks set in it. The same aims are served by the complex of peace-loving initiatives recently put forward by the Soviet Union, including proposals concerning a constructive platform for the Stockholm and Geneva talks. The Soviet Union has proposed in particular that the USSR and the United States introduce for the entire period of the Geneva talks moratoriums on the development, including scientific research work, testing, and deployment of space-based strike weapons and freeze their strategic offensive weapons, and also that the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the build up of our counter measures be stopped.

Well known are also the proposals of the socialist states on the further development of trade and economic, scientific-technical, cultural, information, sports, and other forms of cooperation with the capitalist countries, the proposals that are aimed at reverting to the policy of detente in Europe and at giving this policy a concrete material substance.

The difficulties of recent years have not deprived us of the historical optimism, inherent in our social system, in our approach to the prospects of development of international relations in Europe. We see that, even in the conditions of exacerbation of the international situation, many of our proposals have been embodied in the practice of the USSR's relations with France, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, and other European capitalist countries because they correspond to the objective interests and needs of all European peoples.

"The concept of 'detente' was born in Europe. The 10th anniversary of that day is approaching when the historic document was signed in Helsinki which appeared as though it summed up everything which peoples put into this great and capacious world. Much that had been built on this basis has been destroyed by the icy winds from the other side of the ocean. But much of it has also endured, survived, and took firm roots and is producing tangible benefits for peoples," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out on 21 May 1985.

Thus the Helsinki accords undoubtedly have a lasting significance for the formation in Europe and the entire world of a new system on international relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. The party's directive, adopted nearly 10 years ago, on the necessity of "actively pursuing the line of complete implementation of the Final Act of the all-European conference and of development of peaceful cooperation in Europe" has re[defined] for us its full significance also today.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

CEMA COOPERATION IN STANDARDIZATION

LD291357 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0350 GMT 29 Sep 85

["PRAVDA Commentator's Column" by Sergey Baygarov: "Expanding Direct Links"]

[Text] At the regular session of the CEMA Executive Committee, representatives of the fraternal states, guided by the provisions of the summit conference of CEMA member countries, examined topical questions of cooperation. They discussed the possibilities and prospects for developing direct links between the economic, scientific, and technical organizations of the CEMA countries. It was established that this form of cooperation is aimed principally at performing the tasks of intensifying social production.

The attention of the CEMA countries will be concentrated on cooperation in elaborating and introducing the latest technology, equipment, and materials, in raising the technical level and quality of articles, and the production of the most important goods, and also if necessary in expanding and modernizing capacities through joint efforts.

The fraternal countries have accumulated rich experience of joint work in the course of many years of cooperation. But life does not stand still. Direct links are a qualitatively new form of cooperation between the socialist states. Most of the countries of the community are carrying out intensive improvement of the economic mechanism, which facilitates the broad establishment of such links. The first experience is already there, accumulated by related enterprises and establishments of fraternal countries. It is important to deepen these links in every way, and to set them up quickly in the leading spheres of production.

There are, however, difficulties along this path. Take for example the disparity of standards. It has come about historically that enterprises of different countries make the same goods in different ways. The development of cooperation will be aided by the plan, approved by the Executive Committee, for cooperation in the field of standardization in the next 5-year period, which pays particular attention to working out standards in the priority areas of cooperation, especially electronics, microprocessor and robot technology, flexible production systems, and other machine-building goods which determine scientific and technical progress.

New things are not born easily. But the difficulties can and must be overcome. The main thing is to approach them creatively, and in a businesslike way, which was incidentally demonstrated during the work of the CEMA Executive Committee. These efforts will repay themselves a hundredfold, for direct links--the fraternal parties note--are a powerful, almost untouched reserve in the task of speeding up scientific and technical progress and raising the technical level of production. It is also an important political matter. Hundreds of thousands of working people take part directly in direct links, strengthening the potential of each fraternal country and of the community as a whole.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 85 pp 7-10, 45

[Article by Pavel Demchenko]

[Text] The Middle East has been a crisis zone for almost four decades now. Five large-scale Arab-Israeli wars—in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982—have taken place there, as have hundreds of smaller armed conflicts, and exchange of rocket and artillery fire. One cannot help but notice the heightened military activity in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, to say nothing of Iraq (I happened to be in those countries during the past few months). The Arab-Israeli conflict continues to effect all of the Middle East countries, albeit to varying degrees. The situation is being increasingly aggravated by the Iran-Iraq war, whose influence is also felt in the entire region.

Such a protracted crisis which is linked in many ways with the international situation as a whole is partially explained by the urge of imperialism, and US imperialism above all, to retain control over the Middle East, so rich in natural resources, especially oil. Imperialism uses Israel, whose expansionist anti-Arab line is known only too well to attain its objectives. At the same time the ability of Arab states to oppose the intrigues of imperialism and Israeli aggression has been, to a tangible degree, a result of the support they have received from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, and of the latter's policy pursued in the Middle East.

Today we witness some new features in the alignment of forces in the region and in the struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. And this is the subject of the article.

LEBANESE SURPRISES

A small country with a population of about three million and an army which was almost devoid of fighting efficiency and had been weakened by many years of strife, demonstrated a number of surprises to the world. The last of them was the forced withdrawal of Israeli troops from part of the Lebanese land in 1982 and from Saida in 1985.

Tel Aviv sought to depict it as a voluntary step within the framework of a well-thought-out long-term policy. In reality it was quite different: the aggressor retreated under the blows delivered by the resistance movement of the occupied territories and under the pressure of protests in Israel itself where the economic situation had sharply deteriorated. It failed to achieve the goals which it had set itself. In June 1982, Israeli soldiers were told that the operation against Lebanon, code-named "Peace to Galilee", would be an easy promenade which might last two or three weeks at most. The "promenade" turned into the longest war ever

waged by Israel since its inception in 1948. In the end, the burden was too great and the aggressor failed to withstand it. The US newspaper *The Baltimore Sun* wrote that by deciding to make a stage-by-stage withdrawal from Lebanon Israel recognises that it had been defeated after the most catastrophic military adventure in its history.

It is hard not to agree with this frank assessment. At the same time, it should be borne in mind how bitter, hard and sanguinary the road to this finale, so unexpected to many people in Western and Arab capitals, was.

...Let us return to the year 1982. In the morning of June 6, three Israeli armoured columns crossed the Lebanese border and rushed northwards. The extremely small Lebanese army had actually fallen apart in the course of the civil war; and the units which remained were stationed near Beirut. Only Palestinians and detachments of the national-patriotic forces put up local resistance to the aggressor in certain districts.

The propaganda justification for the invasion was that it was necessary to put an end to "Palestinian terrorism". In actual fact, the tasks Israel had set for itself were much broader, i. e., not only to gravely weaken, but also, if possible, to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Organisation, whose headquarters and combat detachments had been concentrated mainly in the Lebanon since the 1970s. Moreover, Tel Aviv also planned to install a pliant regime in Lebanon, to conclude a Camp David-style "peace treaty" with that country, then to defeat Syrian troops, which have been in Lebanon since 1976 under the flag of the inter-Arab peace-keeping force, thereby forcing Damascus to give up the Golan Heights forever and be more compliant in its relations with the United States.

There was also another task—to open the road for a greater US military presence in the Middle East and create the situation under which US ground forces would have a "legitimate" reason for landing in Lebanon, while the US 6th Fleet would use the Beirut Port as its base of operations.

Initially it seemed that all these objectives would be attained. True, the hostilities were protracted, the arbitrariness and cruelty of the aggressors evoked an unprecedented wave of indignation and condemnation throughout the world and in Israel itself which was the scene of massive anti-war demonstrations. However, the entire south of Lebanon up to Beirut was occupied and the leaders and combat detachments of the PLO, after heroically defending Beirut, left the city to save it from complete destruction and its peaceful inhabitants from death. The Syrian tank brigade also withdrew, and the threat of a massive Israeli attack hung over the Syrian troops in the Bekaa Valley. Having captured a number of hills in eastern Lebanon, the Israeli troops were able to shell Damascus from a distance of 30-35 kilometres.

For the first time since 1958 the US Marines within the framework of the so-called "multinational force" which also included French, Italian and English soldiers, stepped onto Lebanese soil. The cannons of the 6th Fleet were pointed at the centres of resistance and shelled them more than once.

In retrospect, this act of Israeli aggression was not unexpected to anyone. Three to four months before the Israeli army crossed into Lebanon journalists indulged in speculation as to when it would start and what its scope would be. After all, everybody agreed that Tzahal—the Israeli army—would start operations soon after the last district of the Sinai had been returned to Egypt at the end of April 1982. This was preceded by sharp differences that flared up in Israeli ruling quarters over whether it was expedient to leave the Sinai and, if it was, whether additional conditions should be imposed on Egypt. The advocates of withdrawal, i. e., of continuing the "Camp David process", and of keeping the commitments taken by Egypt under its agreements with

the US and under the "peace treaty" with Israel, got the upper hand. In reality this meant that, having secured its southern flank, Tel Aviv was free to conduct operations in the north.

Perhaps none of the people who engaged in predictions could have supposed that the Israelis would dare seize Beirut, i. e. for the first time occupy the capital of an Arab state. This was totally unprecedented. Neither could anyone have predicted another important factor in the events which followed: never before had Arab governments reacted so indecisively to an invasion by the "common enemy" of a fraternal state. Faik Warrad, General Secretary of the Jordanian Communist Party Central Committee wrote: "Unlike what already had taken place during previous instances of aggressive actions by Israel, the Arab countries were helplessly silent for more than three months".

Indeed, military assistance to Lebanon was offered solely by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Libya. Other countries sent money, medical units, tents and blankets. Popular enthusiasm, on the other hand, was great and several hundred volunteers, who acted on their own, came to Syria and Lebanon. However, the governments pursued a wait-and-see policy. They failed to agree on the convocation of a summit meeting even during the battle for Beirut which lasted almost 80 days. Egypt deemed it sufficient to recall its ambassador from Tel Aviv and declare the "curtailment" of cultural and trade relations with Israel. In short, at that time Arab solidarity was, for the most part, nothing but a catchword. The actions which were taken could in

no way be compared with those which were taken before, under similar conditions.

This naturally gave no grounds for optimism and created the impression that Lebanon, torn by internal strife, the Palestine resistance movement and Syria had been left to the mercy of fate and, perhaps, of Washington...

AN ABORTIVE PLAN

Such was the situation when, on September 1, 1982, Ronald Reagan came out with his widely advertised Middle East peace "initiative". It would not be out of place to mention that in all the years the present US Administration has been in office this was the only plan that has been given the name of the President himself: probably the White House thought the prospects for gaining a firm foothold in the Middle East and turning it into a military and political bridgehead to be quite real.

The "Reagan Plan" which developed the Camp David line proceeded from the following premises: the PLO has been so weakened that the slogan of self-determination for the Palestinians has been removed from the agenda for many years to come and possibly forever; succumbing to US diktat, Syria will submissively withdraw its troops from Lebanon, reconcile itself to the loss of the Golan Heights which were occupied by Israel in 1967, discontinue its support for the Palestine resistance movement and the Palestinian cause in general; Lebanon will immediately start negotiations with Israel, and establish diplomatic and other types of ties with it. In short, a detailed script had been worked out as if for a "serial". This was one more piece of evidence that the US and Israel, its "strategic ally", were seeking to achieve practically the same objectives, by pursuing a well-coordinated policy.

Philip Habib, Washington's special emissary, was entrusted with translating these schemes into reality. However, the only thing he managed to do was to force the Lebanese government (which included quite a few representatives of the big bourgeoisie and supporters of the West) to sign a "peace agreement" with Israel on May 17, 1983.

Moreover, US State Secretary George Shultz had to come to the Middle East in order to patch up the sharp differences which suddenly arose between the parties involved. All of a sudden the situation started changing. At that time I happened to be in Lebanon and watched a very strange situation take shape: it seemed that the Americans and the other members of the "multinational force" were on the defensive, afraid to leave even the limits of their fortified camps. The ships of the 6th Fleet were shelling mountainous villages and the towns of Aley and Suk El Garbu but the initiative had obviously been seized by the patriots. A guerrilla warfare had been sparked in the occupied south.

Israel accused "Palestinian terrorists" and "irresponsible elements", while the US laid the blame on the Shiite terrorists of the Iranian stripe who allegedly attacked American, as well as French and Italian soldiers. Later on the accent shifted: the Israelis pounced on the Shiites, whereas the Americans pointed an accusing finger at Druse terrorists. The invaders soon had to face the facts, however, and admit that despite differences over domestic issues the overwhelming majority of the people and most of the political organisations in Lebanon favoured the abrogation of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the expulsion of the Israelis and the "multinational force" from the country and that they were one with Syria on that score. The removal from the Lebanese government of a number of ministers on whom it had made a stake was like a cold shower for Washington. Anti-American sentiments in Lebanon grew with each passing day. US press began openly speaking of the failure of Reagan's Middle Eastern policy and of the need to get out of the Lebanese quagmire as soon as possible.

Newsweek wrote that everything had amazingly fallen apart. With staggering expedition the groupings backed by Syrians seized almost the whole of Beirut and surrounded US Marines in the city airport.

Washington Post called the events a US diplomatic blunder. What has happened in Lebanon, the paper asked rhetorically, and answered that the United States suffered a defeat. It was symbolic, the paper went on, that it was a major and painful defeat, just one more from the lamentable and long list of instances when a leading world power made a laughing stock of itself in a bid to attain something called erroneously "vital interests" which in reality was nothing but another enticing trap.

In March 1984, the Lebanese government officially abrogated the agreement with Israel which had been imposed on it by force. Having sustained considerable losses (more than 260 Americans had been killed), the "multinational force" left Lebanese soil in disgrace, while the 6th Fleet was ordered to retreat to the open sea.

It was only natural that the United States then tried to forget the "Reagan plan". When compiling it, its authors were implementing the imperial principle which they have been trying to apply in Central America, Africa and Western Europe. The gist of the principle is: do what Washington says! Here, too, the US ignored the opinion and will of those involved in the Middle East crisis—Lebanese progressive forces, the Palestinians and Syria—which had no intention of surrendering to the Americans and Israelis. As Tel Aviv's threats did not scare it, Damascus resolutely began strengthening its armed forces, and its anti-aircraft defence in particular. As before, the Syrian army opposed the Israeli invaders in the Bekaa Valley. The Lebanese patriots escalated their attacks against the invaders: by the end of 1984, 650 Israeli soldiers had been killed and 4,000 wounded. Protests were mounting in Israel in connection with the protracted adventure in Lebanon. Moreover, the burden of occupation proved excessive for the overstrained Israeli economy. These developments demonstrated once again that there is a substantial gap between the objectives im-

perialism pursues in the Middle East and the opportunities for their attainment.

It became clear that the Israelis would inevitably have to withdraw at least from the most densely populated, and consequently, most "uneasy" districts of southern Lebanon. On the basis of an agreement with Washington, whose emissaries were shuttling between Middle Eastern capitals, Tel Aviv set forth one preliminary demand after another. The first demand was as follows: the evacuation of Israeli troops should be accompanied by the withdrawal of Syrian contingents from the Bekaa Valley. Damascus refused to do so. In an interview he gave me, Faruq al-Shar'e, Syrian Foreign Minister, pointed out: "We shall not accept any Israeli ultimatums." Then Israel changed the wording of its demand: Syrians should not enter the areas from which Israeli troops would withdraw. Damascus did not even deem it necessary to reply to this demand.

An attempt was made to impose binding commitments on the Lebanese government at the negotiations in Enn Naqoura. However, when it finally became convinced that its efforts were vain, the Israeli government decided on a stage-by-stage withdrawal of its troops foregoing an agreement with the Lebanese but preserving its "right" to strike any part of Lebanon. The first stage was completed on February 18. As a result, the number of people within occupied territory decreased from approximately 800,000 to 370,000. This was followed by the second stage of withdrawal, and it was announced that the Israelis would pull out of Lebanon completely by early June. However, as they started evacuating, the occupying forces launched a veritable crusade against the local population in South Lebanon with the object of driving it away from the border and setting up a "security zone" there. Nevertheless, despite its earlier bluffs, Israel did not manage to settle there "for a long time or for good".

These events permit at least two conclusions to be drawn. The coordination of the actions of the national-patriotic forces and, recently, of the government of Lebanon with Syria has proved effective. If they had fought alone, the Lebanese simply would have not survived the unequal struggle. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the Syrian leadership plays a stabilising role in domestic Lebanese affairs. To a certain degree, Lebanese resistance set an example for other contingents of Arab liberation forces: it has been vigorously working to reach its goals. This reaffirms that only steadfastness and resistance can lead to success.

COMPLICATED PROBLEMS

The same qualities were demonstrated for many years by the Palestine resistance movement. Regrettably, its combat spirit and purposefulness have faded somewhat recently and the movement has been knocked off balance by disagreements and splitting tendencies.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon presented Palestinians in general and the Palestine Liberation Organisation in particular with complicated problems. Although the aggressor failed to destroy it or to remove it from the Middle East political scene, Palestinian leaders and combat detachments were forced to leave Beirut and found themselves scattered throughout the Arab world. The PLO is now based in Tunisia, i. e., much farther from the native land than it was before. A part of the armed forces has moved to the Bekaa Valley and to neighbouring Syria, while some units went to Algeria, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Sudan. The headquarters of Palestinian organisations settled in various Arab capitals (but primarily in Damascus). As is known, most Palestinians live in Jordan (about one million people), on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip occupied by Israel in 1967 (1.3—1.4 million people).

The differences that emerged within the PLO and Fath, its leading organisation, have exacerbated the situation. Apart from the methods of leadership used by Yassir Arafat, discussion also touched upon a basic issue: what should the PLO's strategy and tactics be given the new circumstances? The

differences led to several internecine armed clashes, as a result of which the PLO Executive Committee and the Fath Central Committee have lost control over a considerable portion of their combat forces located in the Bekaa Valley and in Syria.

The Palestinian movement has felt the effects of the general discord in the Arab world, differentiation processes taking place there and the absence of a single viewpoint on a Middle East settlement and the Palestinian issue which objectively remains the core of any such settlement. Some governments actually started to encourage the PLO to disband. They suggested that it give up—if not for ever, at least for the time being—the struggle for the self-determination of the exiled people, abandon (till better times) the demand of an independent Palestinian Arab State and begin negotiations with Tel Aviv and Washington on the status of Palestinians in occupied territories through intermediaries such as Jordan and Egypt. Others, on the contrary, said that the emphasis should be placed on military methods and rejected even contacts with Israeli progressive forces. There are Arab governments which continue to demonstrate their passive attitude towards the Palestinians and Israeli threats to Syria, preferring to give their attention to domestic and subregional problems.

To a certain extent, this is a result of the protracted Iran-Iraq war. Suffice it to say that a number of Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the Principalities of the Persian Gulf support Iraq by allocating funds and supplying it with arms, whereas others (Syria and Libya) side with Iran. No doubt the US and Israel benefit from the continuation of this conflict. Indeed, two states which adhere on the whole to anti-Israeli principles, are waging a deadly war, thus providing the Pentagon with a pretext for keeping quite a few warships near the Persian Gulf, which are ready, if necessary, to interfere. The war has frightened the ruling quarters in a number of Arab states with the prospect that the so-called "Islamic revolution" advocated by the Iranian clergy might expand and this has distracted their attention and diverted material resources from the Palestinian problem.

Finally, it is imperative to deal at length with such important factor influencing the Palestine resistance movement as social processes in the Arab world, which also have some bearing on the Palestinians. I am referring to the polarisation of society into classes and the growth of bourgeois strata, including the bureaucratic and parasitical bourgeoisie which are in power in some states, and sympathise with the West. The colossal profits from oil stimulated private enrichment not only in the oil-producing countries, but in neighbouring countries as well where the "petrodollars" infiltrate due to the migration of labour and through other channels. A rather considerable bourgeois stratum has also formed among the Palestinians (in Jordan in particular), and some of them have become big bankers, entrepreneurs and merchants. The interests of their unfortunate compatriots, the numerous Palestinian refugees, receded into the background and the leftist revolutionary wing of the Palestine resistance movement became unacceptable to them. One should take this fact into consideration when assessing the stand any country takes on the Palestinian issue, as well as on the situation within the PLO.

The conflict that emerged in that organisation delayed the convocation of the 17th Session of the National Council (Parliament) of Palestine. When it finally met in Amman in November 1984, it was attended only by 257 of the 384

members. A number of PLO member-organisations (Yassir Arafat was again elected Chairman of the PLO) did not send their representatives to the session, saying that the time and place were "inappropriate".

The delimitation of forces in the Palestinian movement has long been a reality. However, the situation today differs considerably from that of the past years. That is why subsequent developments took a different turn. Last February King Hussein of Jordan and Yassir Arafat reached an agreement "on the framework of joint action". This triggered a fierce debate in Palestinian and Arab circles. This debate

is being conducted in the context of a contradictory situation. On the one hand, the leadership of the Palestine movement has obviously been weakened, while, on the other, the activity of the masses of the movement, including those conducted within occupied territory, is being intensified due to the developments in Lebanon.

At the same time an armed conflict between the Shiite Amal movement and Palestinians flared up in Lebanon. The inmates of refugee camps located in Beirut—Sabra, Shatila and Burdj al-Baradjni—were offered to surrender. The refugees, however, turned down the demand and were forcefully driven out from settled areas.

Under these highly contradictory circumstances, both the American diplomats and Arab right-wing opportunistic forces seized upon a chance of backstage manoeuvring. A word was dropped that there is now a possibility of certain Jordan-Palestinian-Israeli-US contacts. The attempts by the Arab League to work out in a given situation a common approach to the events and to prevent the slaughter of Palestinians have not met with success.

However, neither the complex nature of the situation in the Middle East, nor the difficulties which the Palestine resistance movement faces can change the very essence of the Palestine problem, i. e., the desire of the people who have been deprived of their Motherland to put an end to the Israeli occupation and exercise their right to self-determination. History shows that it is impossible to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has been lasting for many years, without taking the national interests and the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine into account, as it is impossible to halt their struggle for the triumph of their just cause. The solution of the Palestine problem is the key to a Middle East settlement. This is a fact which neither imperialism nor Zionism, nor local reactionaries can ignore.

A ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Let us note that Israel continues to occupy considerable Arab territories: the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, part of southern Lebanon and the district of Taba in the Sinai Peninsula. Tel Aviv's policy is based on four premises: no Palestinian state, no negotiations with the PLO, no return to the 1967 borders, and no elimination of Jewish settlements (there are more than a hundred already) on occupied territory. The United States acts as Israel's main patron, making its biggest stake in the Middle East policy on its "strategic ally", although Washington is also manoeuvring with Arab countries and pursuing broader imperial goals. However, President Reagan stated that the US would never allow Israel to lose its qualitative military superiority over the Arabs.

Hence, it is not difficult to see that fundamental differences exist between imperialism and Zionism, on the one hand, and the Arab national liberation movement, on the other. Of course, there are opportunistic elements in Arab countries, who, pursuing their own narrow class interests, are ready to strike bargains with Washington behind the backs of the patriotic forces. The example of Anwar Sadat who concluded the Camp David agreement is a case in point.

However, experience showed that no separate deal can solve the problem in the Middle East as a whole and restore peace in that long-suffering region. This is a complex problem, and, consequently, it should be solved in a comprehensive manner through joint efforts and by taking all of its aspects and details into account.

This is precisely the approach the Soviet Union takes to the Middle East affairs. It maintains that the Arab-Israeli and the Iran-Iraq conflicts should be settled by political means, and acts accordingly.

In the summer of 1984, the USSR made public its programme for an all-embracing, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. Soviet proposals are based, first and foremost, on the principle that it is inadmissible to seize others' territories by means of aggression. Consequently,

Arabs should be returned all the territories which Israel has occupied since 1967. The Arab people of Palestine should be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and create their own state on the territories which will be liberated from Israeli occupation.

The right of every country in the region to a safe and independent existence should be ensured, the state of war should come to an end and peace should be established between the Arab countries and Israel. Finally, the Soviet Union proposes that international guarantees of settlement be adopted. The Soviet Union is ready to take part in any such measures. Furthermore the Soviet Union suggests that an international conference be convened to work out such a settlement. All of the countries concerned would participate, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Great powers, and some other states could also be invited

to take part in it in accordance with an agreement with the conflicting parties.

This conference, however, is in no way meant to serve as a screen for making separate deals outside its framework. I am speaking now of a truly honest and just solution to the Middle East problem which would make it possible to eliminate one of the most complicated conflicts in the world.

The USSR is convinced that not only the peoples of the Middle East who yearn to lead a normal life, but also the entire international community which strives for peace on earth have an interest in just such an outcome. The Soviet policy regarding a Middle East settlement meets understanding and support in the political and public circles of most Arab countries. It also got support at the latest UN General Assembly. However, the United States and Israel spoke out against it, announcing that they favoured bilateral negotiations with Arab governments, thus essentially showing their determination to continue dictating their will to the Arabs. Such a position blocks the Soviet proposals which, if realised, would offer a realistic solution to one of the bitterest conflicts in the world today. ■

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INDIA'S PROGRESS SINCE INDEPENDENCE VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 85 pp 11-15

[Article by Anvar Sarvarov]

[Text]

On August 15, 1947 India was proclaimed an independent state; this year the friendly Indian people celebrate their national holiday for the 38th time. On January 26, 1956 India was proclaimed a republic. Casting off the fetters of British colonial oppression, the industrious people of India became their own masters and ushered in a new era in the development of their great Motherland whose history stretches back several millennia. The years of independence have been a time of arduous and decisive work to wipe out the painful legacy of the colonial past, economic backwardness, widespread poverty and almost universal illiteracy. India has had to tackle the problems of fostering national unity and territorial integrity while overcoming religious and caste prejudices. It has scored great successes in building a state which is now economically and militarily strong. Today India plays an important role in Asia and all over the world, enjoying great international prestige which it fully deserves.

The country had to make a tremendous effort indeed to change its countenance in such a relatively short time, to traverse the long path from being an appendage of the British Empire, which provided it with agricultural goods and raw materials, to an agricultural and industrial state.

Following the declaration of independence, India's GNP increased by more than 250 per cent.

The state sector has continued to gain strength, and today it occupies an important place in the structure of the Indian economy. The state sector, which now holds key positions in such industries as non-ferrous and ferrous metals, power engineering, heavy machine building, ship-building, coal mining, oil production and oil refining, accounts for 40 per cent of the country's industrial output and over 20 per cent of its GNP. The revenue received from state enterprises is constantly growing. In the 1983/1984 fiscal year their net profit topped 6,000 million rupees.

Soviet-Indian multilateral economic cooperation has a positive influence on the development of the Indian state sector and national economy as a whole. About 80 projects have been built in India with Soviet economic and technological assistance. Today they produce over 30 per cent of Indian steel, 70 per cent of its crude oil, 80 per cent of its heavy metallurgic equipment and 20 per cent of the electricity consumed there. Among the largest industrial enterprises built during the 30 years of fruitful Soviet-Indian cooperation are the iron-and-steel works in Bhilai and Bokaro; the aluminium plant in Korbe; the engineering plants in Ranchi, Hardwar and Durgapur, and the oil refineries in Mathura, Koyali and Barauni. In recent years construction has been started of a new iron-and-steel works in Visakhapatnam, a power engineering complex consisting of a large thermo-power station in Vindhyachal and an open colliery in Nigahi, and a coking coal mine in Mukunde—which will be of great significance for the development of the country's ferrous metallurgy industry. Much is being done to improve the efficiency of several power stations built with Soviet assistance.

Trade between the Soviet Union and India, successfully developing on a long-term and stable basis, is a major component of Soviet-Indian relations, the Soviet Union being India's most important trade partner. During the last decade alone trade between the two countries has risen more than fourfold and is now valued at 2.5 billion rubles.

Progress has not been limited to Indian industry and agriculture. Great strides have also been made

in the social sphere, in education, science, health care and culture. The country boasts about 100 universities, over 3,000 colleges, and 800,000 state schools. During the past 35 years the number of children attending primary and secondary schools has risen five-fold, while the number of people enrolled in institutions of higher learning has risen eight-fold. India ranks third in the world in the number of people employed in research, surpassed by only the USSR and the US. The number of Indians who can read and write grows with each year that passes; today they account for 36 per cent of the population as opposed to 16 per cent in 1950. As for the number of books published, India is the seventh in the world.

The achievements of the Indian people in studying the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the ocean and space, are a graphic example of the progress they have made in science and technology. India is among the countries which send expeditions to Antarctica and put man-made satellites into orbit, using missile carriers of their own make for the purpose; six Indian satellites have been launched thus far. In 1984 Rakesh Sharma, an Indian citizen, was launched into space together with Soviet cosmonauts.

This great Asian country's international prestige has seen significant growth over the last few years: it is Chairman of the movement of non-aligned nations. Its consistent, peaceable foreign policy, its active work to preserve peace and to eliminate the threat of war, to curb the arms race and establish a new world economic order, its work to promote cooperation among states founded on the principles of equality and peaceful coexistence—all this has won India the respect it deserves. The well-considered and realistic stand India has taken on a number of pressing international problems, such as the situation around Afghanistan and achieving a peaceful settlement in Southeast Asia, as well as its constructive approach towards the question of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and denunciations of Israeli aggression against Arab peoples and of South Africa's racist policies—all this evokes discontent among imperialists and reactionaries who do not want to see India strong and independent, who would like to have it side with them.

World imperialism's attempts to weaken India by exerting pressure from outside, by destabilising its domestic situation and by surrounding it with hostile states in order to make its leadership reject the independent, peaceful foreign policy it has chosen and deprive it of the positive influence it has on events both in the region and the world as a whole do not attain the desired results. The schemes to weaken India's position in the world fail, as do all attempts to deprive it of the leading role in the non-aligned movement, to drive a wedge between India on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the socialist community, on the other. Far from worsening, relations between them are improving. The attempts to divert India from its course also fail. The great Asian power's opinion and its international prestige are important factors in world politics, while the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India, which have been firmly grounded in the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, have been bearing fruit.

The successes independent India has attained are unquestionable and impressive. However, not all the problems and difficulties that the country has encountered on the path of progress have been overcome. Many of them have become even more urgent, which can be explained by the development of private-capital enterprise and by the aggravation of socio-class, religious-communal and caste discord. The effect of the colonial past, peculiarities in the structure of Indian society, as well as objective difficulties hinder the solution of socio-economic problems. The low standard of living which is the lot of a large part of the population (40 per cent live below the official poverty line) is one of the coun-

try's most pressing problems, as are the growing inequality in property distribution, unemployment (over 20 million are without work), religious and caste prejudices, and rapid population growth (14 million children are born every year).

Agriculture also faces serious problems, despite growing yields. The weak material and technical base, the low level of electrification and poor irrigation are among the reasons; today only 36 per cent of all arable land is irrigated. One feature of rural India is the large number of landless and land-starved peasants, on the one hand, and the small number of rich landowners, on the other: most of the rural population—75 per cent—uses only 10 per cent of the land, while a mere 3 per cent of landlords control over 50 per cent of the land.

Concentration and centralisation of private capital and production continues. To overcome great financial difficulties, the state has to apply to international credit agencies for help.

The National Indian Congress (I) government headed by Rajiv Gandhi will have to solve many problems if it is to stabilise the economy and domestic political affairs which have been aggravated by the complex socio-economic situation, grave class conflicts as well as conflicts between various groups and strata of the bourgeoisie. It will have to overcome the considerable growth in nationalistic, regionalist and separatist sentiments in many States, and continuous clashes caused by religious and communal differences.

During its five years in office—since its return in 1980—the Congress government has scored some successes in the economy, having enhanced the role of the state sector and planning, secured the growth of industrial and agricultural output, somewhat curbed inflation, cut the trade deficit and increased currency reserves. It has taken steps to fulfil a 20-point government programme envisaging employment and better living conditions for the poorest strata of the population. The INC (I) government managed to keep the situation under control and took steps to entrench itself in the centre and in the states, despite attempts by reactionaries (at home and abroad) to destabilise the situation. These attempts included making use of existing socio-economic difficulties, encouraging regionalist, centrifugal trends, and instigating nationalistic and communal clashes in the strategically-important border regions of India.

In 1981-1983 the government was especially concerned with large-scale nationalistic riots and attacks in the north-eastern state of Assam, resulting in the death of over 3,000 people and great losses of state property. When things had been brought back to normal in the region, there was a drastic

worsening in the situation in the Punjab, another strategic State which borders on Pakistan. Extremists from the Sikh religious community which accounts for two per cent of the Indian population and over 52 per cent of that of the Punjab, launched a broad anti-government campaign demanding that the Punjab be made the "independent state of Halistan". Punjabi extremists persecuted members of the Hindu community, staged terrorist acts against local government employees and security forces. The drastic worsening of the situation forced the government of Indira Gandhi to establish presidential rule in the State in October 1983 and send troops there to restore law and order. More than 1,000 men and women were killed and 1,500 were injured during the unrest in the Punjab. It is indicative that the flames of enmity between Punjabi nationalities and communities had been fanned by growing conflicts between the Indian bourgeoisie and its Punjabi contingent which, in the recent years, has created an economically strong Sikh religious and political group which strives to dominate the state and to achieve greater autonomy, to the detriment of the Hindu community in the Punjab.

According to the Indian press, foreign circles wishing to destabilise life in India and undermine the INC(I) government were involved not only in the events in Assam and the Punjab but in the assassination of Indira Gandhi as well. It is an open secret that the US secret service and those of its allies from, among other places, Southern Asia have long been hatching and implementing plans for interfering in India's affairs. They encourage Indian separatists who strive to weaken the unity and territorial integrity of the multinational Indian state. The situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, bordering on Pakistan and China, provides another example of this phenomenon. When the Indian government had somewhat stabilised the situation in the Punjab, pro-Pakistani separatists, supported from abroad, became active in Jammu and Kashmir. In May 1984 they staged large-scale anti-Indian marches in Srinagar, capital of the state.

This situation was aggravated by the fact that the local ruling party, the National Conference headed by Farook Abdullah, had had strained relations with the INC(I) and the centre as a whole; besides, factional strife was rampant within the party itself. The centre had accused Farook Abdullah, the State's Chief Minister of conniving with pro-Pakistani and communalist organisations, whose activities threatened national security and the territorial integrity of India as a whole. In July 1984 there was a split in the National Conference. Abdullah lost his majority in the State's Legislative Assembly. Supported by the INC(I), G. M. Shah, the leader of the opposing group, became head of the government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Regionalistic trends have recently become more pronounced in a few other states where local parties are in power. Like Jammu and Kashmir, two southern States, Tamilnadu and Andhra-Pradesh are governed by the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Telugu Desam parties. Another State, Karnataka, is governed by the non-Congress Janata Party. Regional parties have cemented their positions and become a more noticeable and important factor in India's political structure; this creates certain difficulties for the central government.

Outbursts of religious and communal strife have been destabilising the country politically. According to official data in the period 1980-1982, 809 people perished in clashes. In 1983 alone, 404 religious-communal clashes (as opposed to 473 in 1982) were recorded, in addition to those which occurred in Assam and the Punjab. In 1984, religious communal unrest shook the states of Maharashtra, Andhra-Pradesh, Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, the Delhi union territory. The government has had to call on the army and police to maintain law and order, as the above-mentioned clashes plus those incited by separatists became more frequent. According to the Indian Defence Ministry, the government had to dispatch military units to various states 42 times, between July 1981 and July 1984 to bring the situation to normal.

Early in November 1984, the political situation in the country aggravated still further by Indira Gandhi's assassination. The fact that the murderers were Sikhs, triggered massive religious-communal strife; over a thousand people were killed. Deliberate attempts by anti-national and extremist elements to provoke unrest of this kind in many States and destabilise India as a whole, had a pernicious effect.

Under these circumstances, Rajiv Gandhi's government had to take drastic steps to restore law and order, to stop the strife, and to return the country which had been staggered by Indira Gandhi's death to normal. The measures taken helped localise unrest and keep the country under control.

The forty-year-old Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, who also became Chairman of the INC(I), had stated that his government would continue to follow the previous government's domestic and foreign policies. He named as his priorities cementing national unity and integrity, suppressing extremist and religious-communal forces, and implementing the programme of socio-economic change initiated by his mother.

The new government also embarked on the road of developing a "mixed economy", i. e., of coupling the state and private sectors, giving priority to modernising the national economy. Measures were ta-

ken to improve the performance of the state apparatus and the INC(I) government, both in the centre and in the states.

In foreign policy, R. Gandhi reiterated his adherence to the previous Prime Minister's principles in pursuing peaceable policies, including the immutable policy of strengthening ties with the Soviet Union, "based on mutual respect and having a direct bearing on peace and stability".

The strengthening of India's role in the non-aligned movement, and improving its relations with other countries, remain priorities of India's foreign policy. Early in 1985, India invited the heads of state and government of six central countries to meet. The resulting conference adopted the Delhi Declaration which called for peace and an end to the arms race.

That the left-wing parties, the CPI and the CPI(M), are a political force is acknowledged by all. They are among the national parties and are in power in the States of West Bengal and Tripura, as they belong to the United Front which is led by the INC(I). For several years now they have been cooperating with the Parliamentary Coordination Committee and mass public organisations. They also carry out joint campaigns to defend working people's rights.

The INC(I), the ruling party since 1947, with the exception of a short period between 1977 and 1980, is the country's largest and most influential political force. It has a widely ramified network of party cells and a programme of democratic socio-economic change, and for this reason it is supported by the public at large and the major portion of the propertied classes. The INC(I) is much more influential and stronger organisationally than the country's other parties, which makes it a major component of India's political system.

Political infighting and confrontation between the ruling INC(I) and the opposition have grown more pronounced of late because January 1985 brought to a close the most recent five-year session of the People's Assembly. This event was followed by parliamentary elections. The major bourgeois opposition parties have started taking concrete and vigorous measures to prevent a split in the anti-Congress electorate, in order to defeat the INC(I).

Following the 1980 parliamentary elections, when the bourgeois Janata Party coalition was split into several different parts, a tendency toward fission predominated among the non-communist opponents of the government. The following parties preferred to act independently: Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Lok Dal (LD), Janata Party (JP), the Indian National Congress (socialists)—INC(s), the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and others. Fighting within the parties and between them was a frequent occurrence as were clashes of personal interests.

As the new parliamentary elections drew near, however, the bourgeois opposition began thinking more and more of regrouping and uniting against the Congress. In 1983 two main groups were formed, the first being the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), consisting of the BJP and the LD, led by ex-Foreign Minister A. B. Vajpayee, and Charan Singh, ex-Prime Minister of India respectively. The second group, the United Front (UF) consisted of the JP, the DSP, the INC(s) and other parties. Later, the National Democratic Alliance disintegrated due to discord and rivalry between the BJP and the LD. The BJP, the JP and the INC(s) refused to join the new Dalit Mazdur Kisan Party (DMKP) founded in October 1984, preferring a pre-election front or coalition (which Charan Singh also insisted on) to a single opposition party. As a result, the DMKP was left with two groups that had broken away from the Janata Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party.

Thus, during the election campaign the INC(I) was opposed by three big oppositional forces: the BJP, the JP and the DMKP.

Led by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the ruling INC(I) party won a convincing victory, and this was the main result of the elections. His party gained more seats than had ever been won by one party in India's history as an independent state (401 out of 508), and an unprecedented percentage of votes (49.2).

The INC(I)'s main rivals, bourgeois opposition parties, suffered a crushing defeat, and their joint-representation fell from 80 to 19 seats in the People's Assembly.

The past elections demonstrated that given the present-day alignment of social and political forces in the country, the INC(I) is India's most powerful party and has no rivals on a national scale.

The results of the voting reflected the growing realisation on the part of the masses that the country needs further social progress and greater unity and territorial integrity.

The Indian people celebrate their national holiday in a complicated domestic political situation. The forces of foreign and domestic reaction try to make India turn off the path of socio-democratic change. But the tangible achievements India has made in various spheres of material production and cultural life, in cementing its sovereignty and in the struggle for peace and progress, evoke sincere joy in the hearts of the Soviet people.

The USSR wants India to be a unified, strong and prosperous country, which plays a key part in stabilising world affairs. The USSR considers India a great

Asian power which unswervingly pursues a peaceful foreign policy and greatly contributes to the struggle of progressive forces against imperialist aggression, and for a lasting peace, the complete eradication of colonialism and racism, promotion of non-interference, peaceful coexistence and goodneighbourliness in international relations.

Relations of friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union are rapidly developing. Prompted by the will and desire of the peoples and governments of both countries, these relations are based on equality, mutual respect and similar attitudes to the basic international issues of today.

Soviet-Indian cooperation, which today has so many dimensions, is free from any pressure or strings. The Soviet Union has invariably and consistently supported India at all stages of her struggle to strengthen independence. This was reaffirmed last May when Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi came to the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit and held talks with Soviet leaders.

Both governments agree that the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed by the two countries is for the mutual benefit and fully reflects the Soviet and Indian peoples' commitment to world peace and detente.

The two sides spoke highly of the level of Indo-Soviet economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation, noting that it is developing dynamically according to a plan and acquiring new forms and content. The economic ties between our two countries will undoubtedly get a fresh impetus from the newly-signed agreement on the guidelines for economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and India for the period up to the year 2000 and an agreement on Soviet-Indian cooperation in the construction of a series of major projects in India.

The talks emphasised once again that Indian-Soviet friendship and cooperation are having an increasingly beneficial effect on the entire system of international relations, asserting by sheer force of example the principles of peaceful coexistence and working towards consolidation of peace and security among nations.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM DISCUSSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 85, pp 46-48

[Article by Anatoli Yermolayev]

[Text] **S**aigon, April 30, 1975, 11:00 a. m. The tanks of the liberation forces of Vietnam surrounded the Palace of the "President" of the Saigon regime. After firing a blank in warning, they rushed towards the main entrance of the building. The soldiers of the Saigon army, who protected the Palace, surrendered. General Duong Van Minh, the last "President" of the "Republic of Vietnam", announced that he was ready to meet representatives of the liberation forces to discuss the transfer of power. The reply was: "Saigon's power has been completely destroyed. You cannot transfer what you do not possess. Complete and unconditional surrender is the only alternative."

That was the end of the sanguinary Saigon regime which was supported for twenty years by American bayonets and injections of dollars. The neocolonial domination of South Vietnam by the United States ended without glory. The longest, most intense and most difficult but the greatest patriotic war in the history of the Vietnamese people was over.

In those days I was lucky enough to visit the liberated city of Saigon (later it was renamed Ho Chi Minh City). I remember the pride and joy in the eyes of the Vietnamese people I spoke with—former members of the underground and partisans who had just left the jungle. The dream for which thousands upon thousands of the best sons and daughters of Vietnam gave their lives had come true.

The victory of the Vietnamese people in the spring of 1975 was truly historic. As to its significance, it far exceeded the geographic boundaries of Vietnam. The victory constituted a powerful blow to the global hegemonic schemes of US imperialism and its allies. It served as an immense source of inspiration for all those who opposed imperialism and reaction, who fought for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

However, the Vietnamese people paid an enormous price for their great victory. US imperialism stopped at nothing to perpetuate its domination in South Vietnam. Here are some data testifying to the scope of the crimes committed by the United States, which the White House is now trying to describe as a "feat of valour by American boys".

The US Air Force dropped about eight million tons of bombs and shells on Vietnamese soil. Dozens of towns and thousands of villages were razed to the ground, hundreds of industrial enterprises and most of the country's highways and railways were destroyed. As many as 1.6 million people became victims of American toxins, and toxic agents were dropped over 44 per cent of the country's forests and 40 per cent of the arable land.

The socio-economic effects of rule by the Americans and their Saigon puppets were no less grave: about 10 million people unemployed and without any means of support, 180,000 orphans, 650,000 widows and approximately 200,000 disabled people; the ugly and lopsided development of the economy which was oriented towards meeting the needs of the 550,000-strong US expedition corps and the Saigon army which numbered over 1,000,000 officers and men; the economy's complete dependence on the import of raw materials, machinery, equipment and fuel from the capitalist market; "forced urbanisation" and the devastation of rural areas, whose inhabitants were driven to cities under the "supervision of the American army" in the course of "pacification operations".

Saigon and other South Vietnamese cities became international centres of crime, prostitution and drug addiction. An army of declassé elements numbering in the thousands—spiritually bankrupt and corrupt people—flooded the towns in that part of the country. In short, the tasks of restoring the economy of the south and of remaking it socially and culturally were extremely complicated.

Having analysed the situation in South Vietnam after its liberation, the Communist Party of Vietnam worked out a pro-

gramme of action for the new stage of the revolution in that part of the country. The documents issued by the CPV noted the need to comprehensively strengthen the administrative bodies of the dictatorship of the proletariat which depended on the broad masses of working people for support. It was imperative within a brief span of time to liquidate the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a class, as well as the vestiges of the feudal-landlord class, to transform capitalist industry, transport, construction and trade using them as the basis for setting up and buttressing the public and cooperative sectors of the economy. At the same time, the Party demanded the correct use and guidance of the enterprises in the private and private-capitalist sectors by preventing negative phenomena or nipping them in the bud, and working to make private economic activities be a great help to the socialist economy.

It was necessary to carry out truly revolutionary changes in ideology and culture. The US imperialists who were the bosses in South Vietnam did everything they could to destroy the people's moral values and traditions and corrupt Vietnamese youth. They propagated the most diehard anti-communism and cultivated the so-called American way of life.

Economic tasks were in the centre of the attention of Communists and all working people. Due to the efforts of the working class, its high level of consciousness and unity with

the Communist Party of Vietnam, it proved possible to start production, during the very first months after the liberation, at the enterprises in the Ho Chi Minh City-Bienhoa industrial zone, where about 80 per cent of the South's industrial capacity was concentrated. Due to the acute shortage of primary goods, materials and assembly parts, the result of an economic blockade imposed by capitalist countries, some factories and plants were reoriented towards a different type of production based on primary goods and raw materials produced in Vietnam itself or imported from socialist countries.

In the years after the liberation of the south industrial production in Ho Chi Minh City increased almost four-fold. The city's factories began producing many new types of manufactured goods, including automobile engines, electric motors, transformers and farm machinery. The rates of industrial growth in Ho Chi Minh City are among the highest in Vietnam. This is a result of introducing progressive methods of organising production and paying labour. Although the economy of Ho Chi Minh City still bears the mark of the former neocolonial structure, the biggest city in Vietnam is changing from a consumer city to a working city. It has taken upon itself the role of a major national-economic centre. Today it produces about 25 per cent of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam's industrial output.

The boost in the economy made it possible to launch such large-scale projects as a geological survey and extraction of oil and gas near Vungtau. The Soviet-Vietnamese "Vietsovpetro" enterprise put out its first oil in May 1984. The construction, with Soviet assistance, of the Trian power station on the Dongnai River near Ho Chi Minh City is of tremendous importance to economic development in the south, making it possible to eliminate the severe shortage of electricity there and to use idling capacities.

Alongside big and medium industrial enterprises in the public sector, production is developing rapidly in artisan and cottage industry shops, some of which are in the private sector. This policy, which meets the needs of the multi-structural economy of the first years of the transitional period, makes it possible to give jobs to hundreds of thousands of people, thereby helping to solve the acute problem of employment, to encourage the population to invest more capital in production, and to put out more consumer goods as well as products for export.

The south Vietnamese countryside is going through radical changes. Immediately after the end of hostilities millions of peasant families, once driven to towns by force, returned to their native villages. The fields were cleared of unexploded bombs and shells.

Socialist collectivisation has become the main feature of rural south Vietnam. By the beginning of 1985, more than 50 per cent of the peasants, who own about half of the cultivated land, had formed production teams, groups of mutual labour assistance and agricultural cooperatives. In accordance with the guidelines established by the 5th CPV Congress (March 1982) and the 7th Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee (December 1984), the socialist agricultural reforms in the south of Vietnam, implemented along democratic lines, will, in the main, be completed in 1985.

The measures which have been taken to invigorate the socialist agricultural reforms meet with support of the working peasants in the south. The material and financial aid the state provides to newly-formed farmsteads and the introduction of progressive forms of payment to agricultural production convince peasants that collective farming is quite promising.

Cooperation exerts a stimulating influence on the intensification of agricultural production. Rice productivity on collective farms is, as a rule, higher than on individual farmsteads. Irrigation projects have been expanded on collective farms.

The process of developing virgin and fallow lands is well under way, and "new economic regions" have been created there. Such cultures as coffee, rubber, tropical fruit, and soy beans are grown there on a broad scale. As a rule, state farms are set up in these "new land" areas. The state renders considerable assistance, giving people machinery, construction materials and seed. Thousands of specialists with experience in remaking rural areas along socialist lines are sent there. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are helping Vietnam upturn virgin lands. For example, in the province of Songbe, 50,000 hectares of virgin lands are being successfully developed with Soviet assistance. Fifteen state farms producing rubber have been built there.

The breaking of virgin and fallow lands and the creation of new economic districts in central Vietnam are helping solve another important social task: the transition of ethnic minorities to a settled way of life. During the past decade almost half million of people ceased to be nomads.

In the majority of agricultural districts, production cooperation is closely linked to transformations in commerce. Measures are being taken to strengthen state and cooperative commerce and improve taxation policy. Purchasing-and-selling cooperatives have been established in almost all the rural communities in that part of the country. The number of cooperatives engaged in giving peasants credits is increasing.

The network of socialist commerce is also growing in urban

the third phase of the socialist revolution in the south of Vietnam. The socialist economic system is being built on the basis of the socialist transformation of the rural areas and the development of the urban economy. The socialist economic system is being built on the basis of the socialist transformation of the rural areas and the development of the urban economy.

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areas. In Ho Chi Minh City it already boasts more than 3,000 stores and shops. The number of commodities sold to the population through the socialist sector is growing rapidly.

As for petty merchants, 36,000 people have now been organised into 3,000 cooperatives. This has made it possible to increase government control over the commodities produced in the private sector. Thousands of other petty merchants work in socialist retail outlets.

The ties between the state and peasants and the growth of state purchases of agricultural produce are based on the consolidation of the state and cooperative commercial network, the improvement of its activities and the growth of the commodity and money supply within its framework. This makes it possible to invigorate measures directed at eliminating the black market, profiteering and smuggling. For example, there are no longer any private wholesale traders of vegetables, pork or fish in Ho Chi Minh City. Government organisations have taken over wholesale trade in these products.

Economic achievements have made it possible to improve the living conditions of working men and women. Hundreds of thousands of city dwellers who, prior to the liberation, lived in slums, were given comfortable flats in which members of the bourgeoisie once lived. Housing construction has assumed considerable scope in the countryside. With the help of the state, peasants build comfortable brick houses.

A decade ago there were only 3,000 beds in Saigon hospitals, and all the hospitals were private. In rural areas the system of health care was practically non-existent. South Vietnam was notorious for epidemics of dangerous tropical diseases.

After the liberation of South Vietnam a state system of health care was created practically anew in that part of the SRV. The entire population enjoys free medical services. Not a single large-scale epidemic has occurred during the past decade. The death-rate for gastro-intestinal diseases has been reduced to a minimum. After receiving treatment thousands of drug-addicts returned to active labour and community life.

On the whole, illiteracy has been wiped out in the southern areas of Vietnam. This is a tremendous achievement, if one considers that in 1975, prior to the liberation, 80 per cent of the population there could neither read nor write. During the years of popular rule the system of education which existed under the puppet regime has been remade: private schools were closed, education became free, and school was separated from church. The children of the working men and women who took up arms to uphold the freedom of their Motherland, began attending school. The curricula in the south and in the north of the country were standardised. All this ensured the development of education along socialist lines.

The system of preschool, secondary and higher education is being improved, and cultural activities are being expanded. In the course of the educational reform special attention is devoted to fostering revolutionary ideals and socialist morality in the younger generation and to vocational training at general education schools. There are plans gradually to introduce incomplete secondary education and strengthen the material and technical basis of schooling.

The achievements made in reorganising the complicated social structure inherited from the Saigon regime along socialist lines, as well as the restoration and development of the economy along the socialist path have become possible because the struggle for a new life is headed by the time-tested and the glorious vanguard of the Vietnamese working class and all the working men and women of Vietnam—the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The scope of the tasks the Communists faced after the liberation of the south is even more impressive if one recalls that, due to the terrorism organised by the Saigon secret service and CIA agents, there were slightly more than one thousand people left in the party organisation in Ho Chi Minh City which boasted a population of more than four million in 1975.

During the past decade the party organisations of South Vietnam have multiplied and improved qualitatively. All Communists study, enhancing their level of Marxist-Leninist training. Much attention is devoted to studying the regularities of building socialism, and the economic laws, which govern the

new society, as well as to mastering the management of the national economy.

The Party devotes special attention to the unity and purity of its ranks in view of the fact that forces which are hostile to socialism still exist in the southern part of Vietnam. It resolutely expels from its ranks those who engage in profiteering or commit other types of abuses.

Counterrevolutionary forces, which include former officials of the puppet regime, officers, policemen, capitalists, landlords, the religious upper crust—in other words, all those who profited from the suffering of the people—more than once tested the durability of the new social system with the assistance of US imperialists and Chinese hegemonists. They seek to undermine public order and security and to destabilise the situation. These people apply the most diverse methods, waging their struggle along different lines. Together with armed aggression, they have at their disposal ideological, economic and psychological warfare, spying and subversion.

The trial of the ringleaders and members of the spying and subversive organisation which was called the United Front of Patriotic Forces for the Liberation of Vietnam, took place in Ho Chi Minh City at the end of 1984. It demonstrated the scope, aims and methods of counterrevolutionary activities. The leaders of the Front which had ties with Peking and Thai military intelligence, obtained weapons and money from China, trained and dispatched armed subversive groups to Vietnam, planned the creation of "support bases" on Vietnamese territory and subversive acts against vital economic objects and foreign representations in Ho Chi Minh City.

The Vietnamese people vigilantly protect its revolutionary gains. The Communist Party of Vietnam draws the attention of Communists and all working men and women to the fact that the struggle to build socialism which is now under way in the country is an acute, complicated and protracted class battle. Vietnamese comrades say that the defence of revolutionary gains is a major regularity of the period of transition to socialism and the most important condition for the success of this transition. The working people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam remember Lenin's words: "No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself."

During the ten years which have passed since its complete liberation southern Vietnam has traversed a long path in its social development. During that period it proved possible to solve many tasks in promoting the complete political and economic integration of the north and the south which, prior to 1975, moved in opposite directions. The reunification of Vietnam as a state in July 1976 was accomplished along democratic lines, through national elections. It constituted an immense victory. All public organisations—trade union, youth, women's and others—were united under the guidance of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The reunification of the state led to the unification of the two financial and monetary systems and the pursuance of a single policy in economic management. Economic exchange between the southern and northern parts of Vietnam is further expanding. There is a single system of transport and communication. The planned bases for national economic development which are the same for the whole country, are being strengthened. United Vietnam, despite incessant pressure brought to bear by forces of imperialism and hegemonism, is resolved to make the plans for socialist creative work a reality. ■

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INDUSTRIAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN GHANA VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 4, Jul-Aug 85, pp 54-57

[Article by Yuri Savitsky]

[Text]

One of the highlights of the political scene in Ghana in 1983 was a massive antiwar demonstration held in the capital of that West African country at the end of August. Over 5,000 activists of the Ghanaian Peace and Solidarity Council, the National Organisational Commission for the Affairs of the Youth, the Ghana Trade Union Congress and other progressive organisations marched through the streets of Accra chanting: "Down with the Imperialist Arms Race", "Yes to Peace; No to War", "Nuclear War Must Be Prevented".

"This is a natural expression of the antiwar and antiimperialist course of Ghana's foreign policy announced following the takeover of power by Jerry Rawlings who heads the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)," said President of the Ghanaian Peace and Solidarity Council Victor Agadzi. During his recent visit to Nicaragua, Chairman of the PNDC Jerry Rawlings reaffirmed this course when he and Daniel Ortega, the President of the Nicaraguan Government, signed a communique in which the two leaders spoke out against the aggressive policies of American imperialism, which poses a threat to peace and security the world over. Ghana voiced its unconditional support for the efforts aimed at halting the arms race and preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The Ghanaian government denounced the piratical attack on Grenada by the American military, when it happened. It favours the immediate granting of independence to Namibia and the abolition of the racist regime in South Africa, as well as displaying solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs. The current Ghanaian leadership is doing much to promote friendly relations with neighbouring African countries, particularly, with Burkina-Faso. It is especially pleased by Ghana's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and expresses the hope that fruitful cooperation with them will continue to develop and grow stronger on the basis of mutual respect and trust.

The PNDC is carrying out its progressive foreign policy course in conjunction with the introduction of social and economic measures in the interests of the people. The slogan, Power to the People, proclaimed by the PNDC has not remained a mere slogan: the greater part of the People's Committees in Defence of the Revolution (PCDR) set up all over the

country has developed into genuine bodies of popular government. Battling the sway of the exploiter minority, PCDR activists supervise the fair distribution of agricultural implements provided by the state, of cement, roofing materials and consumer goods. The committees have become a major force in the campaign to expose and deal with profiteers, smugglers, bribers and other anti-social elements. In the rural areas, PCDRs mobilise local populations to build and repair roads, schools and hospitals, cultivate virgin and waste lands, and restore plantations of cacao and other agricultural crops ravaged by the 1983 severe droughts and fires.

Though they are not substitutes for the government, the PCDR help expose henchmen of the former corrupt regimes in the state apparatus, saboteurs, and outright loafers. They are campaigning enthusiastically for the revision of the crippling agreements imposed on Ghana by the multinationals under former pro-Western regimes. This was the case in particular in November 1982 when the government of the republic gave in to the opinion of the PCDR and nationalised the Ghana Textiles Printing factory owned by the Anglo-Dutch United Africa company. It was then that PCDR activists exposed the arbitrary policies in factory management and placed themselves at the head of the workers' movement for their rights. That was the case in 1983, at the Cadbury Ghana Limited factory, a branch of the British-controlled Cadbury-Schweppes Company. Led by PCDR activists, workers occupied factory shops and demanded an end to abuses by the management and illegitimate dismissals. Thanks to the workers' determination and support from the Ghanaian government, they succeeded in curbing the abusive attitudes of the Cadbury Ghana Limited management.

Welcoming the initiative of the PCDR, the government newspaper *People's Daily Graphic* described it as indispensable for the work of eliminating as quickly as possible the remnants of the colonial socio-economic structure. The paper emphasises that the revolution presupposes a high level of activity on the part of the people: without this it has no prospects.

The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) must deal with the grim heritage of the past, especially in the economic sphere. This fact has a bearing on the current situation in Ghana. Though Ghana became the first independent country in Tropical Africa and under the leadership of the first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, made considerable progress in building the foundations of the national economy, things took a sharp turn for the worse after the 1966 CIA-staged coup in which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was deposed. Leaders of the subsequent reactionary pro-Western regimes who followed one another were concerned mostly with personal enrichment and defended the interests of neocolonialists who were actually in control of Ghana's economy. Industrial enterprises and agricultural projects finished or unfinished under President Kwame Nkrumah, were neglected or handed over to private owners. Cacao bean crops and the production of gold and diamonds which had once brought considerable revenues to Ghana, sharply declined. Simultaneously prices and the unemployment level were rising and the standard of living of the majority of people was falling. The situation grew worse when one million Ghanians were repatriated from Nigeria. In short, the new leadership

has to work against heavy odds because of the schemes of imperialist and domestic reactionaries.

The patriotic-minded military, led by Captain Jerry Rawlings, took power in a military coup of December 31, 1981 and were forced to take drastic steps in order to save the country's economy from complete ruin. One of the first measures was the curtailment of government spending and the gradual switching over to self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. The new leadership can now boast of certain achievements in this respect.

On April 21, 1983, the government introduced a programme for restoring and boosting Ghana's economy. Today the efforts of the government and the people are concentrated on the task of preparing the economic, social and political ground to meet the targets of the 3-year development programme. Steps are being taken to increase industrial and agricultural output and raw materials production. The new leadership also intends to work towards expanding the output of consumer goods, improving the system of distribution, and bringing inflation down by introducing measures that will make trade and the system of taxation more effective. The government is doing much to improve the country's infrastructure. Ghana's budget is being drawn up today with an eye to a possible reduction of the traditionally high deficit. Branches of banks being set up in rural areas are expected to play a more active role in the development of agriculture—the backbone of the Ghanaian economy. Though the government's economic development programme is primarily oriented towards the use of domestic resources, it also attracts foreign capital, provided foreign investments are not detrimental to the interests of the state.

In a bid to raise agricultural output, the government offers loans to peasants, supplies them with credits, implements, fertilizer and high-quality seeds, draws the unemployed into the farming and livestock breeding sectors and helps build producer and marketing cooperatives. Centers for servicing and repairing farm machines are being set up in rural towns. Land improvement projects are being carried out. Experts are working on developing better cattle and poultry breeds. These measures have already yielded certain results. Despite the severe drought that hit Ghana in 1983, 400 thousand tons of corn were harvested that year, that is, 179 thousand tons more than in 1982. The output of rice, cassava, yam and other food crops went up considerably over this period.

The government has also introduced measures to build a more solid material and technical foundation for the fishing fleet. In 1981, it consisted of 22 boats for catching tuna fish, and two years later there were already 33. Besides, the fishermen were supplied with fuel, out-board motors, spare parts, and nets. This measure brought quick results: in one year alone, the fish catch in Ghanaian coastal waters increased from 18.3 to 21 thousand tons. A large amount of fish is obtained from ponds, the number of which is growing constantly in various parts of the country.

The Ghanaian leadership is showing much concern for the restoration of the cacao plantations destroyed by the 1983 fires. Cacao provides 65 per cent of the country's export earnings. A 3-year programme is also being implemented which

envisages the cultivation of more cacao plantations (on 30 thousand hectares) in Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Volta and other provinces. Sixty thousand people are involved in the realisation of this project, which is extremely important for the country. The cacao research center in the town of New Tafo (Eastern region) has grown 84 million hybrid saplings and handed them over to peasants gratis. Apart from that, the government has guaranteed them an increase in the price at which it purchases cacao beans from their producers. It provides them with fertilizer, agricultural implements, rice, sugar and other goods.

So far Ghana has not set itself the task of making the conditions of life in the countryside match those in town. But everything possible is being done to develop the rural areas largely through the use of local and the peasants' own resources. On this principle, using local building materials, schools, hospitals, storage barns for farm produce are being built.

The restoration and development of Ghanaian industry involves no less complicated tasks which are being solved at present. The general economic slump has had an adverse effect on production in Ghana, which is strongly dependent on the economy of the West. The chronic shortage of foreign currency necessary to buy semi-finished products, equipment, and spare parts brought about a sharp decline in industrial production. In 1983, for example, many plants worked only at 10 per cent of their capacities. The government has allocated means for modernising and repairing industrial machinery and sees to it that the output of raw materials is constantly increased, particularly, through the intensive cultivation of cotton, kenaf, peanuts and sugar cane and keeps enterprises of the manufacturing industry constantly supplied with timber. The effect of these measures, of course, will not be as quick as desired, yet the government was expecting industrial enterprises be operating at over 50 per cent of their capacities at the end of 1984. The tire factory in the town of Bonsa (Western region) which is being modernised with technical assistance from India was to increase its output by 40 per cent in 1984. There are few such examples so far, but everything possible is being done to increase their number.

Among the objective reasons which brought about a decline in industrial production was the energy crisis. Though it had been developing for a long time, it became especially acute in 1983. Ghana has no coal of its own, and the amount of oil it produces is insufficient. Until recently, the power plant in Akosombo helped Ghana, and partially Togo and Benin, meet their demands in electricity. But the systematic felling of forests and severe droughts in the upper reaches of the Volta River made the water level in the reservoir drop abruptly. Also responsible for this was the American-controlled metallurgical company VALCO: for many years its aluminium factory in the town of Tema had been consuming more than 60 per cent of the electricity generated by the Akosombo power plant and a considerable amount of water from the reservoir, and paying literally next to nothing for both. VALCO stopped producing aluminium in Tema only at the end of 1983 when the water level was already so low the necessity of turning off the generators in Akosombo became apparent.

In the end, not all the generators were switched off but the government had to resort to tough measures to save electricity and explore urgently other opportunities to solve the energy problem. To lessen the dependence on oil imports, which consumes more than half of the country's foreign currency earnings, prospecting was speeded up on the continental shelf, especially, in the vicinity of the towns of Keta and Tano. A project to use solar energy in agriculture and also as a source of heating for schools, hospitals, hotels and people's homes is being developed.

"Ghana's economic development is slow because it is so dependent on the West for the exploitation of its natural resources," said instructor in drifting Dabuo Deri of a gold mine in the town of Tarkwa (Western region) when I talked to him down at the mine face. "You've probably noticed," he said, "that all our mining equipment is British-made. We won't be able to replace it very quickly. And this is one of the reasons why the Ghanaian government has not yet severed the contract imposed on Ghana in 1969. This contract allows the British controlled LONRHO Company to make fabulous profits on the exploitation of the 'most valuable square mile in Africa' in Obuasi (Ashanti region) which has one of the richest gold deposits."

The correctness of Dabuo Deri's statement was reaffirmed in September 1984 when the Director-General of the LONRHO company T. Rowland arrived in Ghana accompanied by an impressive escort and offered a \$120 million loan to promote a considerable rise in the output of gold in Obuasi. "See what's happening," said a staff member of the Ministry for Land and Natural Resources. "Since the boss himself has arrived and offered a big loan, it means LONRHO is planning an increase in its already huge profits. T. Rowland knows quite well where to invest his company's money. LONRHO has interests not only in Ghana, but also in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania and other African countries".

LONRHO officials boast that they are doing their utmost to promote Ghana's economic development and raise the standard of living of the people. Indeed, the Ghanians working at LONRHO mines have much better diets and medical assistance than those working at state enterprises. The company can well afford to spend a tiny fraction of its enormous income on these people, especially since the profit earned on the sales of Ghanaian gold allows it to make other gestures as well. For example, to corrupt those few Ghanians the company permits to work as engineers or technicians. It hopes that after being bribed, they will show less interest in where LONRHO takes Ghana's gold.

LONRHO is in no hurry to invest its capital in government run enterprises engaged in developing the country's mineral resources. And Ghana needs this capital badly. Acute shortage of funds was one of the reasons why output of the State Gold Mining Corporation fell from 111,152 ounces in 1980 to 20,743 ounces in the first half of 1983. A similar picture is observed at enterprises producing manganese, diamonds and bauxites.

The government has allocated \$84 million for the development of the mining industry, but this sum is not sufficient to break the bottleneck in that industry. This means that foreign capital has to be attracted once again. The only question is what terms the government will manage to obtain.

In the last few years, the work of transportation which once hindered the country's economic development, has improved considerably. The local population is now actively helping to restore trunk and feeder roads in the countryside, thus making on-time deliveries of foodstuffs to the towns possible. 564 buses and spare parts for them have been purchased. Measures are being taken to build up the material and technical foundation of the railway and sea transport. In one year, over 20 new gantry cranes were placed in the port of Tema alone.

Despite the shortage of means, the government is showing great concern for the development of the system of health services. It is doing all it can to make medical assistance within the reach of the majority of the country's people. The task has been set to provide medical assistance to all Ghanians by the year 2000. In the last 2 years alone, 29 polyclinics have been put into operation in towns, and dozens of dispensaries have opened in the rural areas. Medical personnel are working energetically to reduce the number of cases of TB, diphtheria, polio, yellow fever, tetanus and measles. The suppression of the yellow fever epidemics that broke out at the end of 1983 in the north of the country can be regarded as a major achievement of the Ghanaian medical service.

Since the beginning of 1982, changes have been introduced in the education system to keep it abreast with the progressive social and economic reforms taking place in the country. Formerly, the local press could justly remark that until recently, Ghanaian schoolchildren knew Britain's history better than their own, and the system of education remained largely as the colonialists wanted it—catering to their own interests. Under such conditions, it was only natural that the Ghanaian elite were educated mainly in Britain and the majority of Ghanians were denied the opportunity even to learn how to read and write.

The situation has taken a different turn today. Energetic efforts are being made to stamp out illiteracy. Schools study programmes are being re-adjusted to give children not only theoretical knowledge but also firm knowledge of methods of environmental protection, good work habits in agriculture. The new curriculum will provide them with a thorough knowledge of the history and culture of their country. While earlier, secondary schools admitted mainly graduates of privately owned primary schools, today no less than half of the places are reserved for those who have studied at the government's expense. Ordinary Ghanians have now more access to higher education which they can receive today both at home and abroad, in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in particular. The Ghanians trained at Soviet educational establishments are making an essential contribution to the building of an independent Ghana, in terms of health services, above all.

Well-known Ghanaian writer Asiedu Pirencia believes that Ghana's culture can advance only when it draws upon its rich national traditions. The PNDC proceeded from this assumption when it was drawing up its programme for the development of national culture. Though short of means in view of the difficult economic situation, the country is steadily realising this programme, first of all, thanks to the efforts of such organisations as the Ghana Arts Council. To give people the opportunity to learn more about their national culture, the Council arranges

regular performances by the country's finest musical, dance, and theatrical companies. They appear not only on the stage of the Arts Center in the capital but also in remote areas of the country. Biannually, national festivals of art and culture are held, attracting amateur theatrical and other companies from all over Ghana.

"The cultural revolution that began in my country after the PNDC came to power has already yielded its first results," said deputy head of the Ghana Arts Council Hormeku Addrei. "These results are especially valuable since they have brought national culture within reach of the majority of Ghanians." Even naming the problems the PNDC has made certain steps toward solving proves that the development programme outlined by Ghana is viable and enjoys the backing of the majority of the people. Today, even opponents of positive changes in Ghana realise that their hopes that the PNDC would not remain in power for long and would be replaced by a "pragmatic military junta" were illusory. And these opponents have done much to bring about this kind of junta in Ghana through promoting what was termed "cardinal changes". It's enough to recall that during the first 6 months of the PNDC's stay in power, four attempts were made to stage coups. In 1983, not only the network of CIA agents but also the American ambassador to Ghana, T. Smith, were accused of carrying out acts of subversion against the PNDC. Consequently, the ambassador and many CIA officers had to leave the country. Now a new ambassador has arrived in Accra, and the CIA agents have had to change their methods. They tend to regard the economic difficulties Ghana is confronted with as their principal ally in the campaign against the PNDC.

The Americans gave lavish promises of loans to Ghana to assist in overcoming the effects of the prolonged drought, and to help decide the future of more than one million Ghanians unexpectedly repatriated from Nigeria early in 1983. Even the VALCO management, which had refused during 13 months of negotiations to reconsider the fettering conditions of the agreement it had imposed on Ghana in 1962, suddenly decided to make concessions. When asked about the company's motives, one of the PNDC activists in the town of Koforidua, Alfred Agenia, said: "After failing to achieve its purpose through staging open acts of subversion, the Americans decided to stifle us in their friendly embrace."

The people of Ghana, however, have resolved to safeguard permanently the progressive changes that the Provisional National Defence Council is introducing.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PRAVDA VIEWS THE 'NEW U.S. POLICY ON FOREIGN TRADE'

PM140958 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[Vladimir Sukhoy "Commentator's Column": "An Old New Policy"]

[Text] The White House has formed a special interdepartmental group headed by U.S. Secretary of Commerce M. Baldrige. Its task is to work out specific provisions for the so-called new trade policy announced at the end of September by the leader of the current U.S. Administration. What is the essence of this policy and is it actually all that new?

The "comprehensive program" in the trade sphere in the eighties envisages stepping up U.S. exports by adopting punitive measures against trading partners. In the words of the head of the White House, for 4 years he has tried unsuccessfully to persuade a number of countries to lift their trade barriers, abrogate "unjust methods" of trade, and ease access for U.S. goods to their domestic markets. But the "common market" and countries such as Japan, South Korea, and Brazil, were, so Washington believes, intractable. For some reason, they say, the United States has run up an enormous foreign trade deficit, which may amount to the record sum of 150-160 billion dollars by the end of this year. And if so, there is no other way out but to start an export offensive against West Europe and Japan.

The first thing that Washington has done within the framework of its "new trade policy" has been to reduce the dollar exchange rate in order to increase the competitiveness of U.S. exports and, given favorable circumstances, reduce the trade deficit. Other measures include the introduction of certain trade restrictions, specifically on imports of high-grade steel and pipes from the EEC countries and the further utilization of the IMF and the International Bank for reconstruction and development for the United States' own narrow purposes.

These measures of the republican administration's are allegedly meant to counter protectionist sentiments on Capitol Hill. Official Washington policy is essentially protectionism. However, in connection with the forthcoming struggle next fall for votes at the midterm elections many legislators are now making a quite critical assessment of White House activity in reducing the foreign trade deficit and are disposed to adopt a radical law restricting foreign imports. In advocating such a law, only a few of them come to the conclusion that the extremely unfavorable position in the foreign trade sphere

is a reflection of negative trends in the U.S. economy itself, whose interests the Washington Administration is sacrificing to the unchecked arms race.

And yet it is the hundreds of millions of dollars annually consumed by the insatiable Pentagon that hide one of the main reasons why the United States is in no way able to escape a chronic deficit--and not only in foreign trade. And it will hardly be conquered by yet another trade war.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

BOOK ON KENNEDY LEGACY, PRESENT U.S. POLICY REVIEWED

PM141248 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 85 morning edition p 5

[Article by Melor Sturua: "The Kennedy Brothers -- Legends, Reality, Lessons"]

[Excerpt] The main value of the An. Gromyko and A. Kokoshin book "The Kennedy Brothers" published by the Mysl Publishing House lies in the fact that, so to speak, it "verifies harmony with algebra," that is, it separates the myth from the reality and the icon from the portrait. Despite the book's somewhat individualized title it deals with broader problems--the political life of the United States for almost 25 years, from the early sixties to the present day.

The book's methodological basis is Lenin's description of western politicians and statesmen, among whom he distinguished "sensible capitalists" and "prudent representatives of the bourgeoisie" and, on the other hand, the "military faction" and "adventurist elements."

Speaking of the Kennedy brothers' tragic personal fate, the authors' convincingly show that it is just a stone in the mosaic of a great American tragedy. Their exceptional figures overshadow the humdrum of U.S. political life, just as their inconsistency on questions of domestic and particularly foreign policy overshadow the struggle of various circles of the captains of the U.S. ship of state. The authors are stringent but objective. You cannot have a song without lyrics, they seem to be saying. John Kennedy has the August 1961 Berlin crisis and the well-known Caribbean crisis on his conscience. It was under him that the U.S. "slide" into the Vietnam aggression began. However, this undoubtedly major bourgeois statesman also showed a sense of realism which promoted the possibility of avoiding a thermonuclear catastrophe and finding a mutually acceptable compromise for strengthening international security. The authors are correct to write: "John and Robert Kennedy did not live to see the period of marked detente in Soviet-U.S. relations. However, they did a great deal to ensure the formation on the American side of the necessary subjective prerequisites that allowed objective circumstances to be transformed into the detente policy."

History teaches the present lessons for the future. After the detente period a period of a substantial exacerbation in Soviet-U.S. relations ensued. The responsibility for this is borne by the United States, or rather, by its administration, which in the early eighties torpedoed the structure of normal ties with the Soviet Union that had been built up with such difficulty.

Now, on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit, the battle of passions over the question of how relations between our countries should develop is becoming particularly acute and urgent. The Soviet Union's stance on this is clear. We want to build normal, smooth [rovnyy] relations with the United States. Confrontation with it has never begun on our initiative. We do not believe that the tension in Soviet-U.S. relations is based on a fatal clash of national interests. This is also attested by the political history of the Kennedy clan.

CSO: 1807/050

WESTERN EUROPE

CORRESPONDENTS SUM UP GORBACHEV PARIS TRIP

PM081325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 85 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondents Ye. Grigoryev, I. Shchedrov report: "Dialogue for the Sake of Peace"]

[Excerpts] Paris, 5 Oct--Hospitable France has given a warm farewell to Comrade M. S. Gorbachev. The official visit is over. The common opinion was that this was a major event in Soviet-French relations and in European and world politics. Now its results are being weighed up and discussed here. And they were more than considerable both for Soviet-French cooperation and on the international level as a whole.

The French press is paying great attention to that part of the Soviet peace initiative addressed directly to France. Noting the closeness of stances on a number of crucial problems and the mutual desire of Paris and Moscow to continue political dialogue and to deepen and expand traditional bilateral ties and cooperation, French commentators note that on a number of other problems, particularly nuclear missiles in Europe, the discussion will continue at the next Soviet-French summit in Moscow, on which agreement has been reached. The newspaper LA CROIX writes about this in particular. It notes the warm atmosphere surrounding the visit, which gave impetus to the "intensification of political, economic, and scientific ties between France and the Soviet Union." The newspaper considers it extremely significant that there is an identity of views between the two countries on the vital importance of achieving "genuine disarmament," the need to reach a solution on the nonmilitarization of space, and the restoration of the atmosphere of detente, which will open the way to further progress toward the consolidation of peace.

Giving his impressions, Gaullist National Assembly deputy P. Godefroy said:

"M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France is an event of great political significance. France and the Soviet Union are great powers, as De Gaulle well understood, and these powers play an important role in Europe and in world affairs. Our countries have done much in their time to set up detente and establish European cooperation. The resumption of top-level Franco-Soviet political dialogue is reassuring. It is quite reasonable to pose the question in these terms: are we at the beginning of a new stage in relations between our countries?"

Yes. Top-level Soviet-French meetings and dialogue will continue. As many people are noting, that is an important result of the Paris talks, which are a landmark in the progressive development of relations between our countries as well as in the search for opportunities for cooperation between them in the interests of peace in the future, too. In particular, the practice of Soviet-French political consultations will be expanded. The way forward is indicated by the important agreement on continued economic cooperation, signed here during the visit. This is in full accord with the wishes of French business circles.

An exceptionally strong impression has been created among political and social circles here by the resolute way in which the Soviet Union formulated the question of the need to prevent the militarization of space and the argument it put forward in that context. On the whole the Soviet-French summit dialogue established the closeness of the two powers' approach to this fundamental problem. The sides intend to promote the cause of detente, the attainment of success at the Stockholm conference, and the progress of the All-European process on the basis of the Helsinki Final act. Note is also being taken here of such significant factors as the proximity of positions regarding the evaluation of a number of regional problems and existing centers of tension.

The visit is over but the discussion of the Soviet initiatives, put forward in the interests of ending the arms race and preventing it in space, and of how to resolve these tasks in practice continues unabated. In particular, great interest is being generated by the proposals on the direct Soviet-French discussion of the question of medium-range nuclear weapons. This proposal creates a new situation. Press comments and interlocutors' opinions make it possible to judge that the idea commands respect because it considers real security factors, including those of France, and has clear respect for its role in resolving international security problems.

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WESTERN EUROPE

JPRS-UIA-85-015
12 November 1985

SOVIET-FINNISH TALKS ON MACHINE TRADE

LD051037 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1144 GMT 4 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow, 4 October (TASS)--The state and prospects for increasing mutual deliveries of machines and equipment was examined at the 19th session of the Soviet-Finnish working group on cooperation in this field. The Soviet delegation was headed by Nikolay Smelyakov, USSR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, and the Finnish side by Harri Malmberg, managing director of the Central Association of the Finnish Metal Industries.

Machines and equipment occupy an ever more significant place in the two countries' trade turnover.

It is expected that the volume of supplies of Soviet machine-building production to Finland in 1981-1985 will exceed the level of the previous 5-year period by 40 percent. Analogous supplies from Finland to the USSR should rise by 60 percent.

The further increase of mutual supplies of machines and equipment will require the development of both traditional and new forms of trade links, Harri Malmberg said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. Forty major projects to be carried out on the basis of production cooperation have already been planned. Among them is the production of atomic icebreakers and special automobiles, and the use of means of automation in production. There are also, he [Malmberg] believes, other opportunities for increasing mutual deliveries.

CSO: 1825/9

WESTERN EUROPE

FIRST REPORT FROM IZVESTIYA'S NEW BONN CORRESPONDENT

PH301435 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grishin Dispatch: "City on the Rhine"--First paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] Yevgeniy Grishin, IZVESTIYA's new own correspondent in the FRG, has started work in Bonn. A graduate of the faculty of Journalism at Lenin-grad's A.A. Zhdanov University, he has worked in the Progress Publishing House and in TASS. He has been the correspondent of a TASS department in the FRG. Since 1984 he has worked for IZVESTIYA. We publish his first report from the West German Capital.

Bonn--Bonn is perhaps the only capital in the world where almost no newspapers are published. They are delivered here from Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, Munich, and other major cities. The press is late arriving in the capital, and this is probably why people in Bonn are reluctant to subscribe to newspapers, preferring to learn the news from radio and television. Nonetheless, it is said that Bonn is inseparable from politics. What kind of politics, though?

The general impression is as follows: The incumbent government enjoys strong support from big capital, the mass news media, and the Catholic Church and organizations lined with it. It has drafted a whole series of laws eroding working people's rights and freedoms, and anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are being stepped up in the country.

The Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union leadership actively supports the Reagan administration's aims of changing the correlation of forces in the world and stepping up the arms race. The FRG played a key role in the process of the elaboration and adoption of NATO's Brussels decisions on the deployment of the latest U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe. Over one-third of these missiles, which directly threaten the Soviet Union, are being deployed on West German territory.

Back in the late fifties West Germany started to gradually circumvent the 1954 Paris agreements, which place formal restrictions on its military potential and the nature of weapons for its army and navy. The incumbent government is engaged in this actively and purposefully. Spokesmen of the ruling party cite a great many "arguments" to justify the steps they are taking to build up

military potential. It is claimed, for example, that the implementation of NATO's "arms upgrading" decision will make it possible to ensure "peace under conditions of freedom" for the FRG. But no one is actually threatening the West Germans' peace and freedom. Equally inconsistent attempts are made to present matters as if the FRG's security will become more reliable with the deployment of the missiles. The reality is different. Each new American missile introduced in the FRG and brought up to combat readiness will aggravate still further the grave consequences which Bonn is currently encountering.

It would, of course, be incorrect to depict the FRG as a country totally dominated by conservatism and militarism. The democratic forces possess adequate weight to offer active opposition to the country's further slide to the right. But the public is rightly perturbed by the growing militarization. Even today FRG territory is the most militarized part of the world. An acute alarm for the country's fate is spreading through all "stories" of West German society.

In the fall of 1980 I had the opportunity to witness the birth of the largest mass antiwar movement in the FRG. It was the time when representatives of the FRG public gathered around a single table in the textile workers' club in the ancient city of Krefeld. A banner hanging from the wall read: "Atomic death threatens us all--No nuclear missiles in Europe!" That was the time when the document which became the basis of mass antiwar actions by West Germany's residents was formulated. The "Krefeld Appeal" has now been signed by more than six million persons.

This has to be taken into account by the bourgeois parties. Each of them presents itself to the public as the one most capable of resolving the problems of peace and disarmament rather than waging "cold" or "hot" wars. For example, the Christian Democratic leaders mouth assurances that they have no intention of abandoning the former line in relations with the Eastern neighbors and that they are interested in the expansion of cooperation and good-neighborliness. This in particular was said to me in a conversation with Minister W. Schaeuble, chief of the Federal Chancellor's Office.

I asked him about official Bonn's assessment of the two jubilee events in the annals of Soviet-West German relations--the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations and the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty.

In W. Schaeuble's words, these memorable dates offer a good opportunity for thought about the prospects of our relations and how to give them an additional impetus. In this respect, the minister declared, the Moscow Treaty acts as a dynamic element of cooperation. It gave impetus to the development of ties in all spheres. Two other important agreements--the 1973 agreement on the development of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation and the 1974 agreement on the further development of economic cooperation--were extended for an additional 10 years in 1983. Cultural exchanges are expanding. But the opportunities contained in the Moscow Treaty are still far from fully utilized. Reserves do exist for expansion of parliamentary, economic, scientific, and cultural contacts. It is necessary to make efforts to improve the political climate.

Developing the theme, W. Schaeuble spoke of the FRG Government's desire to observe the letter and the spirit of the treaties concluded, but immediately added that Bonn does not consider the prevailing situation in Europe immutable and will act in the direction of "Germany's reunification."

In fact, two German states, officially recognized by the world community, have been in existence for over 3 decades now. By raising such claims, Bonn is in fact raising doubts about a fundamental stipulation of the Moscow Treaty--the inviolability of borders existing on the continent. And is the deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear missiles, targeted on the USSR and the other socialist community countries, in the FRG in line with the letter and spirit of the Moscow Treaty?

...The "Golden Book" which is signed by famous visitors to the West German capital is kept in the Gobelin Hall of Bonn's City Hall. The same hall also houses a collection of gifts, including a large porcelain vase with a panoramic view of Moscow--a gift from a Soviet delegation and simultaneously evidence of the not-so-remote time when the pulse of relations between our countries was beating at full strength. Detente has left deep traces in the memories of many West German citizens, and they believe that our two countries must remain good partners.

CSO: 1807/049

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

U.S. USE OF PANAMA CANAL CRITICIZED

LD132257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 13 Oct 85

[Commentary by Aleksandr Baryshev, International Affairs correspondent]

[Text] Foreign news agency reports show that the United States is constantly violating the commitments that it has undertaken in relations to the Panama Canal.

Here is international-affairs correspondent Aleksandr Baryshev: This applies first and foremost to the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal which was laid down in one of the two treaties that were signed in September 1977 by President Carter and ratified by the U.S. Congress. To judge by everything the new U.S. Administration has perceived this document as just, a piece of paper which does not commit it to anything. While reducing funds for maintaining the canal in a working condition and for its civilian services, it has begun to step up expenditure on modernizing the military bases on Panamanian soil. The United States is continuing to maintain there the headquarters of its Southern, Military Command District and the largest military potential south of the Rio Grande. This comprises 14 naval, air force, and missile bases.

Despite the declared neutrality of the canal U.S. Air Force planes, flying from Howard Air Base, have been making various flights over Nicaragua and El Salvador. The violations of its neutrality are of a particularly dangerous character in the present exacerbated situation in Central America. The American military chiefs in Panama are already openly stating that they are in constant combat readiness to uphold order in this region. One can already see how this is to be done by the example of Grenada. The training for similar operations has been continuing during the military maneuvers on Panamanian soil that are held from time to time.

One cannot fail to notice that by transforming Panama into a proving ground for practicing U.S. militarist plans and a beachhead for intervention in Central American countries, the Pentagon is acting at variance with Panama's mediating activities on achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflicts within the framework of the contadora group. This is yet another fact showing the worth of statements by official Washington about support for that group.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PRAVDA NOTES U.S. TO SELL ARMS TECHNOLOGY TO PRC

PM041353 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Military Technology for PRC"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Sep--The United States has announced its readiness to sell the PRC technology for arms production.

According to the Pentagon statement this will be the first government deal of this kind between the two countries. The technology offered within its framework will allow China to produce artillery shells--including charges for 155 mm howitzers--and other weapons. The total cost of the sale is being estimated at \$98 million. It is also reported that instead of the technology China could purchase U.S. arms to the same value.

In the words of a U.S. military department spokesman, this deal will serve to strengthen U.S.-Chinese cooperation in the sphere of military technology.

At the same time he noted that the sale to China of technology for arms production does not mean a change in the military balance in the region, which is seen as an indication that the United States will continue to give military aid to Taiwan.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PRAVDA CITES PRC PAPER ON U.S. CHEMICAL WARFARE PLANS

PM100822 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

["Own Information" report under the rubric "Press Testimony": "'It Is Better To Disarm'"]

[Text] A few days ago the Chinese newspaper RENMIN RIBAO published under this headline ["It Is Better To Disarm"] a signed commentary in connection with the Washington administration's decision to resume production of chemical weapons.

The article points out that the United States is planning to deploy stockpiles of new chemical munitions in West Europe. This news has generated a wave of indignation and sharp protests in West European states. The public is demanding a ban on this type of mass destruction weapon.

Mountains of arms are already stockpiled in Europe, RENMIN RIBAO notes-- guns, tanks, aircraft, and missiles with nuclear warheads. And now, on the pretext of "guaranteeing European security," the United States wants to deploy chemical munitions there. But since concern for peace on the continent insistently suggests disarmament instead of "arms upgrading," the newspaper concludes.

CSO: 5200/1066

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

DPRK CONDEMNS ROK MOVES TO JOIN UN

LD042227 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 4 Oct 85

[Text] Pyongyang October 3 TASS--A spokesman of the foreign ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has issued a statement here censuring Washington's and Seoul's attempts to get South Korea into the United Nations Organization and thereby to perpetuate Korea's division and turn the south of the country for ever into American imperialism's nuclear bridgehead in the Far East.

The document exposes the false contentions that such a step would promote an easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and notes that the aggressive policy of the United States is the main cause of the aggravation of the situation in the region. To really improve the situation in Korea Washington too must withdraw its troops from South Korea and stop provocations against the DPRK's sovereignty and independence.

It is the opinion of the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea that prior to the unification of the country the north and the south should not join the United Nations Organization together or separately, and strongly comes out for Korea to join that international organisation after its unification as a single state.

The statement expresses hope that all United Nations member states interested in an easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and in the country's reunification will reject the attempts by the United States and South Korea to perpetuate the division of Korea and support the Korean people's struggle directed at the homeland's peaceful unification.

CSO: 1812/12

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR-SYRIAN TIES ASSESSED ON ANNIVERSARY OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY

PM080930 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Oct 85 p 3

[A. Osipov article: "Important Milestone; Tomorrow Is the 5th Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and Syria"]

[Text] The articles of this treaty, which sealed the high level achieved in Soviet-Syrian relations and laid a firm foundation for their further deepening and development, reflected very clearly the main thing which unites the two states and their peoples: solidarity in the common anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for peace, security, and mankind's progress. An important element in Soviet-Syrian relations is the cooperation in tackling the cardinal problems of today. The Soviet Union and Syria firmly advocate curbing the arms race imposed by imperialism, eliminating the threat of thermonuclear war, and consolidating peace and international security. The Soviet peace initiatives aimed at achieving these very important aims meet with the broad support and understanding of the Syrian leadership and the entire Syrian people.

Soviet-Syrian anti-imperialist solidarity has been transformed into an effective factor determining to a large extent the further development of the situation in the Near East. Relying on the help and support of the Soviet Union, Syria is successfully opposing the intrigues of the forces of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, which are striving to establish their hegemony in the Near East. The firm and principled position of the Syrian leadership, which rejects capitulatory deals with the Israeli aggressors and their overseas patrons, is a serious obstacle to the attempts by Washington and Tel Aviv to foist on the Arab countries separate agreements perpetuating the Israeli seizures and limiting the sovereignty and independence of the Arab peoples.

And today Syria, under the leadership of the Ba'th party in cooperation with the Syrian Communist Party and the other progressive parties which belong to the Progressive National Front, is in the front ranks of the patriotic forces of the Arab world. It resolutely rejects the plans of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction and demands an all-embracing and just Near East settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

As M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed at the talks with H. al-Asad, general secretary of the Ba'th party and president of Syria, during his visit to Moscow in June this year, the Soviet Union rates highly Syria's consistent anti-imperialist policy firmly defending the national interests and legitimate rights of the Arabs.

Anti-imperialist solidarity has helped relations between the Soviet Union and Syria to assume a stable and multifaceted nature. The friendly links between the CPSU and the Ba'th party established back in 1969 play an important and, to a large extent, determining role in the general complex of Soviet-Syrian relations. Contacts between trade unions and youth, womens', and other public organizations of the two countries are developing successfully.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union assists the development of the modern Syrian economy. By the joint efforts of Soviet and Syrian organization, workers, and specialists over 60 important economic installations have been or are being built there and thousands of highly skilled specialists have been trained. The Soviet Union is providing friendly Syria with assistance in planning and erecting high-voltage power lines, in creating and developing the oil industry, in transport construction, and so on.

During his June visit to Moscow H. al-Asad highly appraised the Soviet Union's broad help in developing Syria's national economy and helping to strengthen its defense capability. He stressed that the expansion of Soviet-Syrian cooperation meets the basic interests of all the Arab peoples and the Arab world as a whole.

Despite the intrigues of the forces of imperialism, the Syrian people look to the future with confidence. In advancing along the path of independence and progress it can count not only on its own strength and potential but also on the help and support of its friends--the countries of the socialist community.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

LIBYAN ECONOMIC SUCCESSES VIEWED

PM131728 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA International Observer M. Nepesov:
"Years of Struggle and Victories"]

[Text] Most of Libya is sand and stone desert. During the day the searing heat pushes the mercury in the thermometer up to 50 degrees, whereas at night you can literally freeze to death. However, all the Libyans I met spoke about the desert with a kind of reverence. And you can understand them because truly incalculable treasures lie beneath those immense sandy plains and humpbacked dunes, treasures undreamed of even by the heroes of those celebrated tales "The Arabian Nights." The known oil reserves in Libya alone amount to around 3 billion metric tons. At various times the country has extracted an annual 50-100 million metric tons of "black gold," whose export brought a revenue of \$12-17 billion.

Until quite recently the Libyan people did not own that wealth. All the oil and natural gas fields belonged to Western corporations--Exxon, Mobil, Bunker Hunt, British Petroleum, and others. On 1 September 1969 a new life began in the ancient land of Libya. On that day a group of young progressively minded officers headed by Lieutenant Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi staged an uprising against the corrupt pro-Western regime of Idris I. At 0700 hours M. Al-Qadhafi read out on the radio "Communique No. 1," which reported that power was now in the hands of the Revolutionary Command Council. The Libyan Arab republic was then proclaimed later to be called the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

In defense of its national sovereignty the young republic disposed of Anglo-American military bases on its territory. Today 11 Libya's wealth--petroleum, gas, iron ore, and other minerals, industrial enterprises, and banks--is in the state sector. In the postrevolutionary years the country has received at least \$150 billion from the sale of petroleum. But in this country, unlike some oil states in the Arab East, the petrodollars do not go to enrich a handful of feudal lords and build luxurious palaces and villas. The revolutionary authorities have carried out serious socioeconomic transformations. The appearance of the cities has changed and slums and makeshift shelters have disappeared. Modern buildings have arisen in their place. Virtually every Libyan family has been provided with well-appointed accommodation. New schools, technical colleges, and higher educational

establishments are being built. More than \$8 billion has been spent just on developing secondary education. Education, like the health service, is free.

The Libyan Jamahiriyah's successes would be even more impressive if its people were not hindered by hostile external forces. The present American Administration is particularly zealous in this.

In an interview with the American ABC television company M. al-Qadhdhafi answered a correspondent's question as to why the United States makes various unfounded charges against Libya by saying: "Because we refuse to bow our head to America and refuse to submit to American domination and becomes its slaves. We want to be a free, nonaligned country.

Libya is not alone in its struggle, it has many loyal friends. Extensive economic, scientific, and technical ties are being developed between our countries. A 570-kilometer gas pipeline and high-tension power lines have been laid in Libya with Soviet participation. A plan to further develop the electricity supply switch has been drafted by Soviet specialists. The Tajurah nuclear research center is one of the largest products of our cooperation.

There are good prospects for Soviet-Libyan economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. They were defined during summit talks. Soviet participation in further developing Libya's industrial potential, training national cadres, and other joint projects is specifically envisaged.

CSO: 1825/9

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

BACKGROUND TO TRIPOLI FIGHTING VIEWED

PM131900 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Glukhov article under the rubric "We Reply to a Reader": "What Is Behind the Events in Tripoli"--first paragraph is reader's letter)

[Text] Please give some details about the events taking place in the Lebanese city of Tripoli. S. Makarov (Moscow)

The flames of Israeli aggression that licked Lebanon did not spare the city of Tripoli--the country's second largest center and port with a population of 700,000. Situated in northern Lebanon, seemingly far away from the line of confrontation with Israel, it did not escape the events.

But it is not just a matter of Tel Aviv's armed interference. Domestic contradictions are being exploited. Like Lebanon as a whole, Tripoli is typified by rather motley and complex political and religious diversity. It is mainly Sunni Muslims who live there, but there are Christians and a number of Alawites, who also live in neighboring Syria. There are numerous political parties and groupings of various spectrums--from extreme right-wing to left-wing--operating in Tripoli. Half a dozen of them have their own armed formations. There are two major Palestinian camps in the suburbs of the city--al-Nahr al-Barid and al-Baddawi--which shelter thousands of Palestinians who fled from Israeli aggression back in 1948. Finally, the presence of the Syrian contingent of the Pan-Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon ought to be mentioned.

The exacerbation of contradictions in the Arab world was also reflected in the situation in this city. Thus, at the end of 1983 Tripoli became an arena for fierce clashes triggered by the split in Palestinian ranks. There was fighting between supporters and opponents of Y. 'Arafat. The right-wing Sunni Muslim groupings forming the Islamic Unity Movement headed by Shaykh S. Sha'ban allied themselves with the former. After the evacuation of 'Arafat's supporters from Tripoli the fighters from the Islamic Unity Movement (numbering around 7,000) managed to retain key positions, including the port.

Despite repeated accords it was not possible to place the city under the control of the central authorities and the army. The situation has sharply deteriorated in recent weeks. Outbreaks of fighting, with heavy weapons being used, have led to numerous casualties and destruction. Almost 500,000 people fled the city seeking refuge.

This time clashes started between supporters of the Islamic Unity Movement and the Arab Democratic Party, which mainly represents the Alawites and is supported by a number of other parties, including the Lebanese communists. The questions of eliminating the Islamic Unity Movement's monopoly position in the city, establishing Lebanese army control over the city, and ensuring freedom of activity for all political forces were at the center of the struggle.

As has already been reported, the fire of infighting was extinguished as a result of Syria's mediating efforts. Lebanese Prime Minister R. Karami, who is himself a native of Tripoli, took part in the Damascus talks. S. Sha'ban, who arrived with an Iranian escort, also took part in them. The agreement that was reached envisages confiscating heavy and medium weapons from the warring sides. Syrian troops entered the city to help the Lebanese army gain control over order in the city. Judging by latest reports, life there is gradually returning to normal.

The criminal act of the taking hostage of four Soviet citizens and the murder of one of them is an obvious provocation when seen against the background of events in Tripoli. The demands linked with this action concerning the armed actions of the warring Lebanese groupings bear not the slightest relation to the Soviet Union. Our government has demanded the release of the abducted Soviet citizens. All necessary measures are now being taken to save them.

CSO: 1807/44

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PUNJAB ELECTIONS SHOW 'NORMALIZATION OF SITUATION'

PM021011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 85 First Edition p 5

[Valentin Korovikov "Commentator's Column"; "A Flop for the Separatists"]

[Text] Elections have ended in the Indian State of Punjab. The final result of the voting is still being calculated, but it is already clear that the most influential party in the state's Sikh Community, the Akali Dal, has won an absolute majority of seats in the legislative assembly. This party will have to form a new government of Punjab. The country's ruling party, the Indian National Congress is second, with the rest far behind.

The election campaign and the actual voting took place by and large in a calm atmosphere. This is seen as the chief result of the election. The separatists' efforts to intimidate and terrorize the populace obviously failed. The opponents of the agreement on settlement of the Punjab crisis, signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the leaders of the Akali Dal on 24 July, did not find support among the masses. The killing of party leader Longowal was a most graphic demonstration to millions of Punjabis, Sikhs and Hindus alike, that the separatists are trying to push them into the abyss of a fratricidal war and are aiming to split India.

It has been a political flop for the bellicose wing of religious fanatics which split from the Akali Dal. Its call for an election boycott was practically ignored by the populace.

All the parties and candidates involved in the election opposed separatism and advocated peace and an end to intercommunal enmity in the state. For that very reason the supporters of the country's unity are the winners, irrespective of the distribution of mandates in the assembly.

The Punjab crisis--and this has been said more than once by Indian leaders--has been fanned and supported by hostile forces abroad. And the new state government will, of course, be faced with difficult tasks. As (Surdzhit Singkh Barnal), acting president of the election-winning party, said, it is resolved to stop terrorism in the state once and for all and make every effort to ensure peace, tranquility, and socioeconomic progress in Punjab.

Thus, it is reckoned here that the course and results of the election have shown that the normalization of the situation in the state is proceeding successfully. This is what the vast majority of its population wants.

/9274

CSO: 1807/056

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

RECENT COUP IN UGANDA VIEWED

PM151343 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 85 First Edition p 5

[Article by Aleksandr Serbin under the rubric "We Answer Readers": "Tension in Uganda"--first graf is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA reader M. Remez from Chelyabinsk asks us to describe the events in Uganda.

A coup carried out by army circles took place in late July in this African country, removing from power President M. Obote and the Uganda People's Congress [UPC] party he headed. Power was transferred to a military council. General T. Okello, commander of the armed forces, became its chairman and the head of state.

Foreign observers agree that the tribal contradictions, which remain an important factor of Uganda's domestic life, were to a considerable degree the impetus to the events. But they should be examined as part of the overall fabric of political events in that country, which has experienced sharp turns in recent decades.

The British colony of Uganda was an ethnically motley group of politically and economically backward feudal domains and tribal formations placed under British protectorate. The colonialists supported the tribal division, which helped them to retain power. After the proclamation of independence, which Uganda achieved in 1962, the country was faced with the tasks of general development and the creation of a firm basis of national unity.

In 1971 I. Amin's dictatorial clique came to power. Its rule led to a sharp deterioration in the country's economic situation, the growth of internal political contradictions, terror, and the intensification of tribal animosity.

After this regime's collapse in 1980 the UPC regained power as a result of general elections and M. Obote, returned from exile, became president. Although the government declared its aims to be the country's return to normal life, the restoration of the economy, and the consolidation of national unity, in the subsequent 5 years it failed to achieve this, at any rate on any noticeable scale.

The Democratic Party [DP], based on the Baganda tribe, acted as the UPC's main rival in the political arena. The group Y. Museveni, who took part in the struggle against I. Amin's dictatorship and briefly held the post of defense minister, also conducted operations against the government. The so-called National Resistance Army [NRA] which Museveni created launched a guerrilla struggle in west Uganda. Other armed groupings arose, including those formed from the remains of Amin's army. The opposition charged the government with persecution. The situation in the country on the eve of the coup was a complex mix of ethnic and religious contradictions, economic difficulties, partisan rivalry, the vainglorious ambitions of some leaders, and the backstage games of the neocolonialist forces.

Having assumed power, the military council failed to put forward any detailed political program. It has promised to hold general elections within 12 months and has appealed for the consolidation of the country's unity. The government it has formed has included new faces and some members of the previous cabinet.

Uganda's new leader has succeeded in reaching agreements with the armed groupings. But talks with the largest--the NRA--which are under way in Kenya have so far led to nothing.

To judge by the recent news from Uganda, the tension is persisting in the country.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

NEW SOVIET ENVOYS TO ZAMBIA, BENIN APPOINTED

PM050745 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 September 1985 First Edition carries on page 6 an unattributed "Chronicle" report which notes that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Veniamin Andreyevich Likhachev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Zambia and has released Vladimir Ivanovich Cherednik from his duties as ambassador to Zambia "in connection with his transfer to other work."

Moscow PRAVDA 4 September 1985 First Edition carries on page 6 an unattributed "Chronicle" report which announces that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Valentin Viktorovich Pavlov USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Benin and has released Vitaliy Ivanovich Agapaov from his duties as ambassador to Benin "in connection with his transfer to other work."

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